

FRONTISPIECE

An opening from one of the Walsingham consort books.

THE SOURCES OF
ELIZABETHAN
CONSORT MUSIC

A dissertation submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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To

JAK

a source of inspiration

Summary

A preliminary chapter gives an outline of the Elizabethan consort repertory. The principal categories are textless polyphonic compositions (In nomines, Fantasias, etc.), dance music for unspecified groups of instruments, and music for mixed consort (so-called 'broken consort' music). The Elizabethan terms 'consort', 'broken and whole consorts' and 'broken music' are discussed in detail in a second chapter, and some existing assumptions are challenged. There is also a chapter on instrumentation which includes some new material on the instruments used in mixed consorts. The practice of vocalizing textless polyphonic music is also discussed, and the popularity of viols among amateurs in sixteenth-century England is questioned.

The main part of the dissertation is concerned with a detailed investigation of all known sources which contain consort music estimated to have been written during the period 1550 to 1600 approximately. These are over eighty in number (mainly manuscripts) and range in date from c1570 to the mid-seventeenth century.

A second volume is devoted to a thematic catalogue in which the entire repertory, listed under individual sources in Volume One, is collected together and classified. For each piece an incipit is given, together with a list of sources and modern editions, and brief comment where appropriate.

Most of the Elizabethan consort repertory is unpublished at present. The object of the present study is to provide the fullest information on which to base future editions and critical work on Elizabethan consort music.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

Primary manuscript sources of Elizabethan consort music and certain manuscripts in private ownership are referred to throughout this study in abbreviated forms which are explained on pp. 323-6.

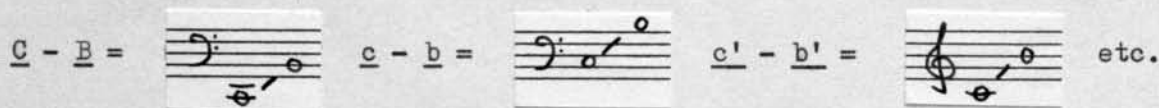
Other manuscripts are referred to by the RISM siglum for the library concerned (except that the prefix GB is omitted for British libraries), followed by a full reference. A list of libraries and their RISM abbreviations is on pp. 320-1.

Printed works are referred to by sigla which are underlined. The key to them is on pp. 327-43.

Works in the thematic catalogue in Volume Two are identified throughout the study by the abbreviation 'TC' followed by their catalogue number.

All material in square brackets [] is editorial. Material in angle brackets < > is obliterated from the source and supplied editorially.

The Helmholtz system is used for reference to musical notes. E.g.



PREFACE

This study was undertaken in order to prepare the ground for editions and critical work on Elizabethan consort music. It is intended to give a clear idea of what types of Elizabethan consort music have survived and where. Most of this repertory is at present unpublished and there is no satisfactory study of the field under consideration. Indeed such editions as are available at present bear out only too well the need for some dissemination of information on Elizabethan sources. Hardly any modern editions of consort music take into account all the extant sources (with the important exception of the revised edition of Byrd's consort music in the Collected Works) so that many are published with faulty texts and wrong attributions.

A thematic catalogue of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English consort music was included in E. H. Meyer's Die Mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa (Kassel, 1934), but, except in the period of time it covers, its scope is much more limited than that of the catalogue to which Volume Two of the present work is devoted. Only fantasias, brownings, In nomines, Misereres and certain other polyphonic compositions are listed. Most of the cantus firmus settings, other than the In nomine and Miserere, are omitted; there are no dances, neither is there any music for mixed consort. Not all the pieces are identified thematically and when they are the incipit of only one part is given. Besides these limitations a great many sources were unknown to Meyer when his catalogue was compiled, and in any case the work contains a large number of inaccuracies. The present thematic catalogue is intended to

supersede entirely the Elizabethan section of Meyer's work, and furnishes a considerable amount of information not hitherto available about the output of individual composers. The only other catalogues which have a direct bearing on the present work are those concerning individual composers, notably in Grove's Dictionary and Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, and also in more specialised works which are given due acknowledgment in the course of this study.

The description 'Elizabethan' is often used imprecisely, embracing music which is strictly speaking Jacobean. In the present study, however, it means more or less what it says, with the proviso that English consort music cannot be pigeon-holed into a neat period beginning in 1558 and ending in 1603. Stylistic considerations have been important in deciding what to include and exclude. I have, for example, included all known early In nomines in view of their continuity of style, although some were doubtless composed in the middle years of the sixteenth century before Elizabeth's accession. The end of the sixteenth century marks a significant change of style, with renewed activity in the composition of polyphonic consort music by Gibbons, Weelkes, Tomkins, Coperario, Ward and their contemporaries. Some of these composers' consort works may have been written just before 1600 (notably Weelkes) but they more properly belong with the Jacobean repertory and are therefore excluded from this study. With music for mixed consort I have extended the later date limit so as to include Rosseter's Lessons for Consort (1609). Thus the catalogue contains a complete list of compositions for the sextet specified in that publication. A duet for lute and bass viol in Pilkington's First booke of songs or ayres (1605) is included since Dowland's Second booke of songs or ayres (1600) contains a similar piece.

'Elizabethan' implies English. Music in Scottish sources has been excluded unless there are special grounds for believing a piece to be English in origin. Pieces by Continental composers have been excluded even if in English sources unless the music appears to have been written specially for English consumption. Thus music by aliens at the Elizabethan court is included (notably that of Ferrabosco I). Where an English composer has gone abroad only his earlier 'English' compositions have been included (e.g. Philips, cf. pp. 18-27).

The question arises as to what is consort music. The Elizabethan understanding of the term 'consort' is discussed in detail in Chapter II, but for the purpose of the present study it is considered to include pieces composed for two or more instruments to play together. The repertory of instrumental ensembles would of course have included vocal music performed without the words (see for example Volume One, p. 197 footnote 1), but such pieces are not regarded as authentic consort music. Unfortunately the origins of most consort compositions are shrouded in obscurity and it is often difficult to be sure that a textless piece was originally composed for instruments, especially in view of the practice of vocalizing music from at least the 1570s onwards (see the final section of Chapter III). In some cases then the definition might have to be broadened to take in pieces apparently composed in two or more textless parts. However, canons and music whose function is purely pedagogic are not considered to be within the scope of the study. Thus the textless pieces in Morley's A plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597) are excluded together with contrapuntal tours de force such as Waterhouse's *Misereres* in Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.4.60. One further category of consort music as defined above is excluded, namely, music for two or more lutes. To deal with such music exhaustively would entail

a separate study of all the English lute sources at present known (cf. Volume One, p. 303).

The arrangement of the two volumes is largely self-explanatory, but to avoid any possible ambiguity the methods used are described here. The three chapters at the beginning of Volume One serve to introduce the area of study and to correct certain mistaken assumptions which are often made. They do not necessarily deal exhaustively with their subject matter, but rather serve to make available those results of my researches which are related to the central topic, sources of Elizabethan consort music. For this reason certain passages deal with particular areas in some detail while others pretend to be no more than summaries of existing knowledge.

The main part of Volume One is devoted to descriptions of individual sources. Chapters IV to IX concern, in approximately chronological order, manuscripts and printed books whose consort music is primarily of a polyphonic character. Sources of dance music and mixed consort music are dealt with separately in the last three chapters. For most manuscript sources a standard descriptive procedure has been adopted. Prefatory material concerning the type of source, page size (width x height) and binding is followed by a section giving details of all the Elizabethan consort music in the source, in addition to more general information about the contents. The following points concerning tabulations of contents may be noted:

The source reference for the piece concerned appears in the left-hand column(s). Page, folio or signature numbers refer to where the piece starts. In some cases the piece may proceed to an earlier page (e.g. in scores written across the open page) which may occasionally result

in interruptions to the numerical order. Unless otherwise stated separate columns of figures are given for individual part-books, the order being determined by the library press-marks (which do not necessarily coincide with the order treble to bass). When only one column is given for a set of part-books it may be assumed that the folio, page or signature numbers are uniform throughout the set.

After the source reference the title of the piece (underlined) is given, followed by the composer. Original spellings are preserved. In the case of sets of part-books the form of title and composer in the highest book has been quoted unless one of the other books gives a fuller version. Two different versions have sometimes been combined in order to convey more information. Contemporary indexes have also been taken into account. When they are the exclusive source of important information due acknowledgment is made (see, for example, p. 98). For pieces in more than one self-contained section the conventional forms '2a pars', '3a pars', etc. are used as appropriate. Further information about particular pieces may be added in brackets, especially for pieces which are not indexed in the thematic catalogue. Identification of these pieces is normally by reference to a modern edition, except where such an edition is a straight reprint of an original print in which case reference is made to that print. Where no modern edition exists reference is made to an appropriate source of further information whenever possible.

The extreme right-hand column gives the thematic catalogue number for each piece indexed in Volume Two.

After the description of contents is a commentary whose scope varies greatly with different sources for a number of reasons. Some manuscripts yield up their secrets more easily than others, some have been adequately investigated in existing publications, others have almost entirely escaped attention. The sources also vary considerably in importance and naturally those of small significance (especially certain late sources, but by no means all of them) have received less attention. The commentaries inevitably contain a substantial amount of speculative material, especially

with regard to the compilers of manuscripts and the dates of copying. In most cases, however, some attempt has been made to assess the relative authority of individual sources, largely on the basis of the quality of their musical texts in comparison with other sources containing the same pieces.

Volume Two, with its thematic catalogue, serves to bring together information about individual pieces listed and discussed at various points in Volume One. Although the layout is described in detail in the Introduction to the volume it may be noted here that the general arrangement is by types of piece and within each type by composer. A thematic index, in which every piece is listed in an order determined solely by the musical content of the incipit (cf. Lumsden's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The sources of English lute music (1540-1620), Cambridge, 1955) is not feasible in the field of consort music because so much of the repertory is fragmentary.

It remains to express my gratitude to the numerous individuals who have helped in many different ways during the course of preparing this dissertation. Valuable assistance has been received from the staffs of the libraries I have visited or corresponded with. In particular I should like to thank Mr. C. L. Cudworth of the Pendlebury Library, Cambridge who devoted many hours to helping this study along, especially in its early stages. Mr. Ian Harwood kindly made available to me his extensive notes on the consort and lute books at Cambridge University Library; Mr. Robert Spencer kept me informed concerning his discovery and purchase of the Margaret Board lute manuscript and gave me every facility for the study of other source material in his possession; Cdr. Gordon Dodd read the draft of the thematic catalogue and made several valuable suggestions; Sister Thomas More gave advice on plainsong cantus firmi. The musical

incipits for Section C of the thematic catalogue were copied by Miss Gillean McDougall. I am indebted to my supervisors, Dr. Peter Le Huray and Dr. John Stevens, who have been generous with their advice at numerous stages of my work on Elizabethan consort music. A special note of thanks is due to Mr. O. W. Neighbour whose criticism of my work has been consistently matched by his enthusiasm for the project. Most of all I acknowledge the constant assistance of my wife who suffered the birth pangs of this study and also compiled the indexes to composers and titles in Volume Two.

This dissertation is claimed as an original work in which as far as possible the primary sources have been consulted directly or from photographic reproductions. Where I have made use of the work of others this is acknowledged in the main text and, in more general terms, in this Preface and the Introduction to Volume Two.

GLASGOW,
JANUARY, 1974

WARWICK ANTHONY EDWARDS

CHAPTER I

THE REPERTORY

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Introduction

There are at least three distinct repertoires of Elizabethan consort music occurring in different types of source with remarkably little overlap. The terms used in this chapter, and for the three sections of the Thematic Catalogue in Volume Two, call for a brief explanation. Textless polyphonic music comprises fantasias, In nomines and other cantus firmus settings for between two and seven instruments which are never specified in the sources. Dance music for unspecified groups of instruments comprises pavans, galliards, almains and jiggs, as well as miscellaneous pieces with dance-like character such as settings of ballad tunes. The number of parts is usually four or five. Dance music also accounts for almost the entire repertory for mixed consort, that is a combination of plucked and non-plucked instruments whose names are usually given. An ensemble of this kind is often referred to today as a 'broken consort', but I have avoided this expression as it seems unlikely that it was used in Elizabethan times, and questionable whether it was ever used to denote specifically a consort of unlike instruments.¹

The most widespread kind of surviving Elizabethan consort music is polyphonic in character. The sources, as may be seen in the ensuing chapters, are numerous but tend to give a misleading impression of the relative importance of their contents during the period in which they were compiled. This is because their chances of survival were almost certainly higher than those of other types of source containing consort music. Paradoxically the reason for this may be that many of them were

1. See Chapter II.

used only occasionally for performance. With one exception¹ the manuscripts are not devoted exclusively, or even principally, to consort music. Many of them include motets, both English and Continental, anthems and chansons. Such anthologies could not have been used by instrumentalists for professional purposes, and for this reason they have been referred to since the time of Roger North as sources of 'private music'.² Some of the collections were probably not compiled for performance at all, but resulted from a kind of antiquarian interest in the music. The large group of manuscripts which belonged to Edward Paston are probably of this sort.³ It is not difficult to imagine manuscripts of this nature being carefully stored away and forgotten until the reawakening of interest in early books and music in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The well used manuscripts of professional musicians however would doubtless have been discarded as soon as they wore out or when their contents ceased to be fashionable. It is probably for this reason that surviving consort dances are deceptively small in number, while mixed consort settings are nearly all in a fragmentary state.

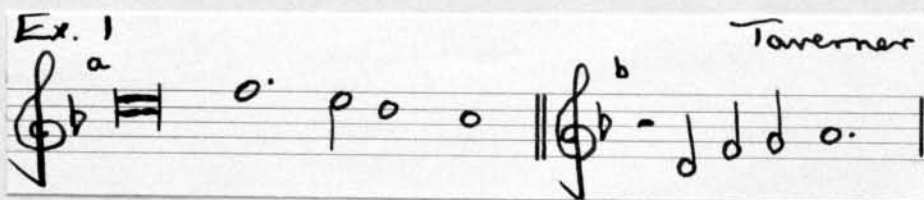
1. Earlier layer of 212-6, devoted entirely to In nomines.

2. NorthM, 340.

3. BretteP.

Textless polyphonic music

The most frequently encountered title in sources of Elizabethan textless polyphonic music is 'In nomine'. Such pieces use the Sarum antiphon 'Gloria tibi Trinitas' as a cantus firmus and their origin may be traced to the 'in nomine Domini' section of the Benedictus from Taverner's Mass Gloria tibi Trinitas which seems to have become detached from the main work and circulated as a separate movement.¹ It is not difficult to appreciate the reasons for the acceptability of this section of Taverner's mass as instrumental part-music in the second half of the sixteenth century. The normal complexities of early Tudor church music are absent, for it is the only section of the mass in which the whole of the plainsong melody appears in notes of equal length (breves), in duple time and with only three accompanying parts. It is also a fine piece in its own right and not surprisingly attracted imitations using the same cantus firmus, the same title and also in many cases similar melodic material. Taverner's opening phrase, derived from the plainsong (Ex. 1a), was taken up by over a score of composers, and a later phrase (Ex. 1b) was used as an opening by Thorne, Stogers, Bevin, Parsons and Byrd:²



But stylistically Taverner's In nomine stands apart from the main repertory, which in the sixteenth century is more strictly imitative in the manner of chansons and motets by Flemish composers. A gap of some twenty years may separate Taverner's composition (?before 1528)

1. On the origins and background of the In nomine see DoningtonOI, ReeseOE and SteveBI. Cf. also note to TC 235.

2. TC 236, 285, 247, 228 and 222, respectively.

from its successors, though the tradition must have been established by the end of the 1550s. In nomines exist by Thomas Preston and Robert Golder who died in the mid-1560s.¹ One of the major sources, 31390, bears the date 1578, by which time the In nomine had undergone considerable development which was not to be taken substantially further until the beginning of the next century.

The favoured number of parts seems to have risen during this early phase (?1528-1578) from four to five; 31390 contains a number of four-part In nomines 'brought up to date' with an added part of inferior quality.² The plainsong is still most commonly found in the second part down in the 'key' of D, but it may occur in any part (less commonly the lower two) and in the 'keys' of G and A. A close relationship may be seen between many of the settings; the opening of Parsons's popular five-part In nomine (TC 277) for example was copied by Alcock (TC 329) and Woodcocke (TC 309):

Ex. 2

1. So far as I am aware the existence of Golder's register copy will (P.C.C. 2 Crymes) has not been noted in any musical work. He is described as 'one of the players of thorgans' at Windsor, and owned a tavern near Newgate called the 'Kings Hedde' and a house at the Strand called 'The Cage'. The will is dated 28th November 1563 but was not proved until 16th January 1566.
2. TC 224, 234 and 235. The last two are also described as in five parts in the fragmentary manuscript, 389.

Ex. 2

Aleck
Woodroffe

Byrd too was clearly influenced by Parsons's composition (which he set for keyboard) in his fifth five-part *In nomine* (TC 254). This 'friendly emulation', as Peacham put it, inevitably led to the production of 'clever' pieces. The plainsong appears in notes of five-minim value in settings by Parsley (TC 274), Stogers (TC 285) and Tye (TC 305), while Picforth contrived an *In nomine* (TC 278) in which each part has a different note value maintained throughout. No less contrived but with a more musical result are *In nomines* which use only one point (Tye TC 237, 289 and 292; Parsons TC 228; White TC 240 and 308).

The most prolific writer of *In nomines* was Christopher Tye, many of whose pieces bear nicknames. His work is often referred to in connection with the growth of an instrumental style in English consort music. The *In nomine* 'Rounde' (TC 301) for instance has an exceptionally wide overall range of parts ($\underline{D} - \underline{c}'''$), and the *In nomine* 'Saye so' (TC 302) has many wide leaps and awkward melodic lines:

Ex. 3

Tye

Particularly striking is the opening to the In nomine 'Crye' (TC 291):



But Tye's In nomines, especially the more original ones, do not appear to have been widely circulated and few composers seem to have been influenced by them. More interesting from the point of view of the development of a style idiomatic to the family of viols are the In nomines by Tallis, Parsons, White, Strogers, Ferrabosco I and a number of lesser figures. They used certain distinctive features in a desire to heighten tension towards the end, including the use of short imitative phrases broken up by rests (Tallis, Parsons, Strogers), scale passages in quavers (Ferrabosco I) and change of time from duple to triple (Tye, Strogers). Against this background may be seen Byrd's In nomines which stand out not only for their technical mastery, but also for their well handled structure, their expressiveness and rhythmic vitality.

The early Elizabethan consort repertory includes, in smaller numbers and most often in the Paston manuscripts, settings of other cantus firmi including a number of Sarum hymns and the antiphon Miserere. The plainsong unit in these compositions is normally a semibreve rather than the breve customary in In nomines, a distinction which relates them to keyboard and vocal plainsong traditions. There is little doubt however that most of these compositions were written for instrumental ensemble. Tye's Dum transisset settings are unlikely to have been composed to a text because of their wide overall pitch range, the third one (TC 216) being strikingly unvocal in places:

Ex. 5

Tye

Byrd's second group of Christe qui lux es settings (TC 205-7) might have had a vocal origin, but the first group (TC 202-4), like White's two four-part settings (TC 209-10), defies attempts to supply the liturgical text satisfactorily.¹ With the remaining consort hymns and Misereres by Byrd however this is a superfluous exercise for they are so clearly instrumental in style.²

A small number of early Elizabethan polyphonic compositions take the form of a set of variations in which a short theme (in one case the antiphon Miserere) is passed from voice to voice amidst a changing polyphonic accompaniment. The most popular of these are the compositions variously entitled 'Browning', 'The leaves be green', 'Hey downe' and 'The nutts be browne' (TC 110-5 and 878). The different titles stem from the verses associated with the tune.³ Besides consort settings the tune is the subject for a set of keyboard variations by William Inghot⁴

1. See Fellowes's attempt in ByrdW, viij, 40. A group of five-part settings by White with text is printed in TCM, v, 170-2.

2. Cf. NeighbourNC.

3. The rhymes are quoted in ByrdW, xvij, 155.

4. Fitzwilliam Virginal Book no. [251].

and variations for solo lute.¹ The tune is also incorporated in William Cobbold's 'New fashions'² and forms the basis for a round in Ravenscroft's Deuteromelia (1609, p. 72).

Freely composed consort music is somewhat rare before the end of the century, and the number of pieces to bear the title 'Fantasia' is still fewer. Amongst the early ones to do so are six compositions by Robert White (d1574) which survive without the top part in arrangements for lute (TC 45-50). They are similar in style to consort hymn settings by White and in some cases by Byrd. More often such early Elizabethan compositions are described as 'Songe' or have no title at all. They do not appear to have reached such a highly developed state as the In nomines, though some of them are clearly instrumental in conception, for example Parsons's 'Songe called trumpetts' (TC 91) and 'De la court' (TC 70-1). The ending of the latter is ornamented with written out division in some sources, a most unusual procedure in manuscripts containing textless polyphonic music:

Ex. 6

Parsons

(continued)

1. Cu Add. 3056 f. 60' and Danyels no. 21.

2. MB, xxij, 158.



Composition of consort music seems to have fallen off in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Admittedly much of Byrd's consort music was probably written during this period, for example the canonic fantasia (TC 58), the second and third six-part fantasias (TC 84-5), and perhaps the prelude and ground (TC 108) and Browning (TC 112). But these compositions are conspicuously isolated; the music was not widely circulated and it may be doubted whether he was writing for a popular medium.¹ In nomines too seem to have become unfashionable; instead of writing series of In nomines (five by Parsley and Parsons, six by Strogers and White, seven by Byrd, not to mention Tye's 23!), composers tend, it appears, to have written only single examples. In some cases, including Bull, the In nomine is an early work, perhaps an exercise in composition.

Two- and three-part pieces however seem to have become more numerous towards the end of the century, and indeed are the only type of textless polyphonic music to have got into print apart from the two pieces Byrd printed in his 1611 collection. But as Howard Mayer Brown has pointed out in a wider European context, 'the collections of duos printed from time to time throughout the century are all rather difficult to justify

1. Cf. below, pp. 81-2.

as "instrumental" music'.¹ Whythorne's Duos of 1590 may be placed in the same tradition as the numerous collections of bicinia published on the Continent principally for pedagogic purposes. As such they were probably designed for the study of counterpoint as well as the provision of performance material 'for yong beginners' (as Whythorne's title-page puts it) both in the art of singing and playing instruments. Morley's Canzonets to two voyces of 1595 are also essentially in this tradition although of much greater intrinsic value than Whythorne's pieces. But there is scarcely any stylistic difference between the vocal and instrumental pieces in the collection. The publication of Lassus's Novae cantiones in England in 1598,² with its twelve vocal and twelve untexted duos, is further evidence of the continuing demand for this kind of music.

Similar difficulties in differentiating between vocal and instrumental style are encountered in the three-part repertory at the turn of the century. Even the title 'Fantasia' cannot be guaranteed to indicate that a piece was originally composed for instruments since in one source it is applied to three textless transcriptions of songs from Byrd's 1589 publication.³ Byrd's authentic three-part consort fantasias, or at least the second and third of them (TC 23-4) are again exceptional in their skilful and idiomatic use of such a small ensemble of instruments.

1. BrownI, 4.

2. First published at Munich in 1577. Later editions are listed in BoetticherL.

3. 41156-8. See below, p. 179.

Dance music for unspecified groups of instruments

In early seventeenth-century English consort manuscripts dance music not uncommonly lies side by side with textless polyphonic music. The dances tend to be elaborate and contrapuntal, sometimes not unlike the surrounding fantasias and In nomines, and can rarely be regarded as functional. In the sixteenth century this juxtaposition is seldom found; the manuscripts which contain polyphonic music include dance music in only a few exceptional cases. One such instance is the five-part galliard in 30480-4 (TC 518) quoted by Meyer (with a false attribution to Parsons) in order to illustrate a most misleading passage which gives the impression that Elizabethan consort dances survive in vast quantities.¹ In fact the dance in question might be described as basic in style and can hardly be regarded as significant in the history of Elizabethan consort music.

The volume of extant consort dances composed before 1600 is not large, especially if one discounts the 65 dances from Holborne's Pavans, galliards (1599) which date from the very end of the century and arguably belong more properly to the music of a later generation. This is not to say that little dance music was composed; rather, a great deal has almost certainly not survived for reasons already suggested.²

Some indication of the loss of a significant amount of music is the presence of dances described as 'English' in various Continental collections. One of these, 'Pavanne d'Angleterre' in Gervaise's Sixième livre de dancieries (1555), happens to survive in a Scottish

1. MeyerE, 97ff.

2. See above, pp. 203.

consort source, but it must surely have been used more extensively as a consort dance since it is found in several English manuscripts in arrangements entitled 'Heaven and earth' for keyboard, lute, solo bass viol and mixed consort.¹ Other Continental dances with English associations are 'Branle d'Angleterre',² 'Ballo Anglese' and 'Saltarello',³ 'Pavane à l'Englesa', 'Canson Englesa', 'Altra Canson Englesa' and 'Saltarello Englesa',⁴ 'Baletto d'Inghilterra deto il Bufon',⁵ and 'Galiarda Englesa'.⁶

Another indication of the amount of dance music now lost is the heterogeneous style of the few pieces which have survived. Each source contains dance pieces from seemingly different traditions and there are very few pieces common to more than one source. A substantial amount of consort dance music is contained in the early Elizabethan manuscripts 74-6 and even within this single source there is a considerable variety of styles, although the majority of pieces are similar to those in ensemble collections published by Phalèse in Louvain and Attaignant in Paris. Many of the duple time pieces for example begin with the characteristic dactylic

1. For details see note to TC 435.

2. BrownI s.v. 1569₆ (solo cittern), 1582₅ (solo cittern) and 1591₁₃ (solo lute), settings of 'Sellers round' (cf. TC 890).

3. BrownI s.v. 1578₈ (four-part consort), 1583₄ (keyboard) and 1583₇ (four-part consort).

4. All four in BrownI s.v. 1584₆ (solo lute), from which all but the pavane appear to have been copied into EIR-Dtc D.3.30/1 pp. 170-1 (see WardLBD, 20 and 31-2). The first canson is a setting of the ballad tune 'Lusti gallant' (see SimpsB, 476-8 and WardAB, 58).

5. BrownI s.v. 1585₁ (solo lute).

6. BrownI s.v. 1592₆ (solo lute, plus treble and bass parts in staff notation), the third of a set of five galliards of which the fifth is a version of one of Holborne's consort galliards (TC 508).

rhythm, semibreve minim minim. The texture is predominantly homophonic, but with a certain amount of contrapuntal movement in the inner parts. The dances may be by Continental composers resident in England, perhaps at the Royal Court.¹ Most of them were clearly composed in four parts but usually a fifth part has been clumsily added. Cadence points with 4-3 suspensions seem to have posed special problems for those who modernised four-part compositions in this way. The added part rarely avoids a collision with the suspended part and solutions like the third bar of 'Seconda desperada' (see incipit for TC 474) are only too commonly encountered.

This kind of situation, found in numerous English pieces converted from four to five parts, seems to have been the primary cause of the famous 'English cadence' which Morley saw fit to decry in the Plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597):²

And so this point when the lesson was made being a newe fashion was admitted for the raritie, although the descant was naught, as being onely devised to bee foisted in at a close amongst many parts, for lacke of other shift, for though the song were of tenne or more parts, yet would that point serve for one, not troubling any of the rest, but nowe a daies it is growne in such common use as divers will make no scruple to use it in fewe partes where as it might well enough be left out, though it be very usual with our Organists.

The same basic problem of manipulating five parts is doubtless at the heart of this passage in Dowland's 'Lachrimae antiquae', sophisticated and beautiful though it is:

1. See below, p. 251.

2. MorleyP, 154.

Ex. 7 Downland

One of the few genuine five-part pieces in 74-6 is a pavan which appears significantly amongst a group with English titles and is decidedly more contrapuntal in conception than any other dance in the source. This may be seen in the incipit (TC 482) and in the following quotation from the beginning of the last strain:

Ex. 8 anon.

Similar textures, adapted to a different medium, are present in the pavan by Newman in the Mulliner Book,¹ especially in the last two strains.

A consort pavan by Ferrabosco I (TC 445), preserved in a late source (3665), is in a style which though contrapuntal features less imitation. Again it is a genuine five-part composition unlike the neighbouring dances by Augustin Bassano and Joseph Lupò which are clearly the work

1. Printed in MB, j, 84.

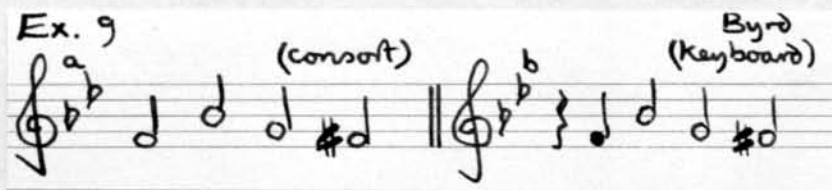
of composers used to handling only four parts. The tenor part in Bassano's first pavan and its derived galliard (TC 442 and 542) is probably a later addition, but in a second pair by him (TC 443 and 543) and in a pavan by Lupo (TC 465) no one part can be dispensed with entirely. In their different ways these last three pieces show a considerable advance on the pavans and galliards in 74-6 in their relatively greater melodic and rhythmic interest. From their position as a distinct group it looks as if these six dances by Italian-born composers were all written at about the same time, perhaps the early 1570s when they were all in the employ of the Royal Court.¹

By a stroke of luck there also survives an isolated five-part pavan for consort by Byrd which was probably written in the 1570s. It has long been known purely as a keyboard work, according to Francis Trejan in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, the first pavan Byrd ever wrote. The possibility that it may have originated as a consort piece has not escaped previous notice, partly because a number of points of imitation can be detected which, due to the close spacing of parts, are hardly audible on a keyboard. Another point of interest is the clash in the third strain between adjacent B₄ and c in the lower two parts. This can hardly be intended to be obtrusive, falling as it does on a weak beat and being no more than the incidental outcome of logical part movement.

1. See commentary to 3665 on pp. 261-3. Ferrabosco I came to the Court in or before 1562 but returned to Italy for a number of periods before his final departure in 1578. For further information see GD s.v. Ferrabosco. Augustin Bassano makes his first appearance in the Royal Household records in the Establishment-book for 1552 (Lbm Stowe 571 f. 27'). He presumably died in 1604 for he was replaced in October of that year by Clement Lanier. Joseph Lupo joined the Royal Music in 1563 as a viol player and died in 1616. The principal sources of information on musicians in Royal service are LafontaineK, Agela and the transcriptions of Audit Office declared accounts in Musical Antiquary, j-iiij (1909-12).

Yet it must sound somewhat ungrateful on the virginals while remaining scarcely noticeable on the viols. The clash was at any rate annoying enough for the c to be erased in the authoritative Nevell source, and altered to d in the Fitzwilliam and Drexel sources; both solutions make nonsense of the part movement.

The present survey of sources has brought to light a hitherto unknown consort version of Byrd's pavan (TC 444) preserved anonymously in a late and not very authoritative source. A comparison of some internal features between the two versions shows beyond doubt which came first. The keyboard piece is clearly a revision of that for consort and from a purely musical point of view is superior in many details. In the second strain Byrd has actually modified his main point of imitation as may be seen in this comparison of the part next to the top in bar 10:¹



The second example certainly seems to be an improvement on the first. By shortening the first note Byrd was able to loosen up the rhythm of the whole section. Having made this revision he was able to apply it to every entry of the phrase, except the last one in the bass (bar 14). To shorten the first note here would leave a rest in the bass part under a 6/4 chord in the other parts. Byrd had no alternative but to retain the figure used in the consort version and to render the keyboard version inconsistent.

Imitation is a fundamental ingredient in Byrd's consort pavan, each

1. Bar numbers refer to the modern edition of the consort version in ByrdW', xvij, 73.

strain being built on a point which is heard on each instrument in turn. Many of the dances in 30826-8 are also constructed in this way but otherwise Elizabethan consort pavans and galliards tend to use imitation more as an ornamental device. Towards the end of the century this non-structural imitation is sometimes of a very complex kind especially in Holborne's work.¹

The position of Peter Philips in the history of Elizabethan consort dances is problematic. Philips left England in 1582 at the age of 21 to spend the rest of his life on the Continent, mostly in the Low Countries. Nearly all of his compositions were written and circulated abroad although his English musical background and training may be clearly seen, especially in his instrumental music. He is thus one of the first in an important line of English-born composers, such as William Brade and Thomas Simpson, working wholly or mainly on the Continent in the early years of the seventeenth century. Strictly speaking his consort compositions are outside the scope of this study with the possible exception of certain pieces which may have been written before he left England.

The first of these is a pavan conveniently described by Tregian as 'The first one Philips made' and dated 1580.² It seems to have been the most popular for there are numerous arrangements, both English and Continental for keyboard, lute, cittern, voices and mixed consort (TC 630). The work may have originated as a five-part consort composition to judge from certain internal features and the ~~chance~~ survival of a solitary

1. For further information on this composer's music see Jefferys, especially pp. 146 to 151.

2. Cfm 32.G.29 no. 85.

treble part (TC 420). The effect of the imitative opening in this consort version

Ex. 10

[outline of lower parts reconstructed]

is weakened in the keyboard version and obliterated in the mixed consort version:

Ex. 11

[lute, cittern and bandora omitted]

The remaining two consort compositions which could have originated in England are a pavan and galliard pair which circulated as keyboard pieces in a number of Continental sources under the title 'dolorosa'. The pavan is dated 1593 by Tregian in the Fitzwilliam virginal book (no. 80), and confirmation is forthcoming from the former Berlin, Royal Library MS 40316 f. 6 which states that it was 'composta in prigione'; Philips was imprisoned in The Hague for a short time in 1593 on a false charge of treason.¹ This keyboard version is written for a 'short octave' harpsichord as the wide spread chords of the left hand in both pavan and galliard show:

1. Curtis, 30.

Ex. 12 Philips

But the second strain of the pavan makes prominent use of a low G#, a note normally obtainable only on a short octave instrument equipped with split keys.

Ex. 13 Philips

Such an instrument was probably somewhat unusual at this time. The earliest surviving example listed by Hubbard is dated 1601.¹ In the absence of such an instrument players would have had to make do with a G_b in place of the G#, an unsatisfactory compromise but one which was clearly intended by the scribe of the Lübbenau source;² in this manuscript no sharp appears before the G in question, whereas the corresponding note in every other instance of the phrase is without

1. HubbardT, 36.

2. D-B Lübbenau, Count zu Lynar's MS A1 p. 226.

fail sharpened.

It is difficult to imagine why Philips should pose this awkward problem in an original keyboard composition. Curtis's suggestion that the pair of dances may have been written with the memory of a particular instrument in mind¹ would be more plausible if the pieces could be described as an exploitation of a split-keyed instrument. A more likely explanation is that the problem arose because the compositions were adaptations of existing dances for either lute or consort. A lute version of the pavan is preserved anonymously in two Cambridge sources (one of them entitled 'Chromatica pavana')² and is remarkably close to the keyboard version, the principal differences being the absence in the former of varied repeats and some ornamental figuration idiomatic to the keyboard.³ There is also some octave displacement between the bass lines with G as the lowest note in the lute version, C in the keyboard version. The almost identical deployment of parts in the more complex polyphonic passages strongly suggests that the piece existed for the less flexible lute before it was adapted for keyboard.

The consort version of this pavan and galliard (TC 421 and 517, see transcription below) is in F major a fourth higher and is different in many important ways. There are a number of imitative entries in the pavan not present in the other versions but which fit so well that it seems unlikely that they were absent from the composer's original

1. Curtis, 31.

2. Cu Dd.5.78.3 f. 65' and Dd.9.33 f. 14'.

3. There is a different setting for lute in FuhrmannT, 181-2 (anonymous and entitled 'Pavana dolorosa') which has no direct connection with the Cambridge sources and is probably a later arrangement of the keyboard version. NB the presence of diapason strings down to C.

PAVANA

Peter Philips

Handwritten musical score for the first system of "Pavana" by Peter Philips. It consists of five staves. The first staff is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time, starting with a treble clef and a key signature change to two flats. The second staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The third staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The fourth staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The fifth staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with various note values and rests.

Handwritten musical score for the second system of "Pavana" by Peter Philips. It consists of five staves. The first staff is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time, starting with a treble clef and a key signature change to two flats. The second staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The third staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The fourth staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The fifth staff is in G major and 4/4 time, starting with a bass clef and a key signature change to two flats. The music is written in a simple, handwritten style with various note values and rests. A double bar line is present at the end of the system.

10

Handwritten musical score for measures 10-14. The score consists of five staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The second staff is also in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a sharp sign (Bb, #). The third staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat. The fifth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a sharp sign (Bb, #). The music includes various note values, rests, and accidentals.

15

Handwritten musical score for measures 15-19. The score consists of five staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a sharp sign (Bb, #). The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a sharp sign (Bb, #). The third staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat. The fourth staff is in alto clef with a key signature of one flat and a sharp sign (Bb, #). The fifth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat and a sharp sign (Bb, #). The music includes various note values, rests, and accidentals.

20

Handwritten musical score for measures 20-24. The score consists of five staves: Treble clef, Treble clef with key signature change to one sharp, Horn (Kb), Horn (Kb), and Bass clef. A double bar line is present at the beginning of measure 20. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

25

Handwritten musical score for measures 25-29. The score consists of five staves: Treble clef, Treble clef with key signature change to one sharp, Horn (Kb), Horn (Kb), and Bass clef. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

30

35

SOURCE

3665 f. 517^v

NOTE

The final note-lengths of each strain have been modified in conformity with the keyboard and lute versions; bar 20 has an extra semibreve in the source, bar 36 an extra breve. The figure used in the second strain (e.g. top part, bars 13-14) was originally written thus: $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \quad \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$

but was subsequently altered to the form given in the transcription, except in the tenor part at bar 18 where the alteration is editorial. In the same bar the third note of the top part appears as two crotchets, $c\sharp$ and d , in the source. In bar 22 of the tenor part the third note (b quaver) is given as a in the source.

conception of the work. The opening of the five-part version is particularly noteworthy for the clarity of the double imitation when compared with the lute and keyboard versions, a persuasive indication that the consort version came first. On this assumption it is easy to see why certain imitative points in the five-part version, for example the second voice at bar 21 had to be dropped in adaptations for solo instruments. The disappearance of the fourth voice of the consort version at bars 15 to 16 is probably best explained by assuming that the pavan was first arranged for the lute and then for the keyboard as has already been suggested. Philips is admittedly not always entirely master of the five-part idiom, for there are moments when the inner parts drift aimlessly or when the texture is cluttered. But then this may be quite an early work if 1593 is taken to be the date of the keyboard version. It may even have been written shortly after his first pavan of 1580 and before he left England.

The history of the galliard is not necessarily the same as the pavan. There are several differences between the lute and keyboard versions even though the galliard is texturally a simpler piece of music. Possibly the lute version was arranged from the keyboard piece and it is perhaps significant that one of the Cambridge lute sources contains only the pavan without the galliard. The consort galliard could also have been arranged from the keyboard version but it is impossible to be certain.

Philips's pavan and galliard discussed above are followed in 3665 by two more pairs by him, the first of which is as far as I know unique to this manuscript. These dances are not included in the thematic catalogue as there is only a slender likelihood that they were written

before he left England in 1582. 'Pavana Pag' and its galliard was presumably composed while Philips was in the service of Lord Thomas Pagget between 1585 and 1589 or on his patron's death at the end of 1589.¹ The remaining compositions by Philips all appear to be arrangements of works by other composers almost certainly made for Continental consumption.² Holborne's galliard, for example, is unlikely to have been in existence as early as 1582, but it was probably adapted before 1599 (possibly from Adriansen's version of 1592³) when Holborne published his own five-part version (TC 508). A setting of the well known 'Aria del Gran Duca Ferdinando di Toscana' must have been made after 1589 since the piece originated with the wedding festivities of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany and Christine of Lorraine in that year.⁴

1. Printed in MB, ix, 109 and 110. The pair also exists with substantial variants in a keyboard version in Cfm 32.G.29 nos. 74-5 and S-Uu Instr. mus. MS 408 ff. 16' and 19'. Cf. PettinL, 59.

2. They are listed below, pp. 260-1.

3. AdriansenN f. 61'.

4. See KirkendaleA.

Music for mixed consort

Performances involving a mixture of plucked and non-plucked instruments frequently evoked comment from contemporary observers. Frederic Gerschow for example recorded the prelude to a play in London on 18th September 1602 in these terms:¹

Eine ganze Stunde vorher höret man eine köstliche musicam instrumentalem von Orgeln, Lauten, Pandoren, Mandoren, Geigen und Pfeiffen.

The surviving musical sources however are fragmentary and small in number; none survives without one part-book or another missing. As contemporary descriptions show this repertory was primarily functional and the province mainly of professional musicians, as was the dance music for unspecified groups of instruments discussed above. In the light of the slender chances of survival of such music² the presence of an imperfect set of manuscript part-books for mixed consort at Cambridge, showing all the signs of professional use, is indeed fortunate. Of the principal remaining sources, the Walsingham manuscripts seem not to have been used for performance, the function of the Braye bandora manuscript is unknown, while the printed sources may have been used by amateurs or professionals alike.

During the 1580s a standard grouping of instruments seems to have emerged and is described in a contemporary account of an entertainment given for Queen Elizabeth at Elvetham in 1591:³

1. BulowD, 28.

2. Cf. above, pp. 2-3.

3. HE sig. E1-E1'. For extensive information on the history of this consort see Sydney Beck's Introduction to MorleyCL'.

After this speech, the Fairy Quene and her maides daunced about the garland, singing a song of sixe partes, with the musicke of an exquisite consort, wherein was the Lute, Bandora, Base-violl, Citterne, Treble-violl, and Flute.

The same combination is called for in the Walsingham consort books of 1588, and the publications of Morley (1599 and 1611) and Rosseter (1609). The instruments are also used to accompany four-part vocal music in Leighton's Teares and lamentacions of a sorrowfull soule (1614), and, with the substitution of a violin for a treble viol, are depicted in the portrait of Sir Henry Unton (d1596) which hangs in the National Portrait Gallery.¹

Probably the same group of instruments provided entertainment at another event which took place during the 1591 Elvetham progress:²

After supper was ended, her Majestie graciously admitted unto her presence a notable consort of six Musitions, which my Lord of Hertford had provided to entertaine her Majestie withall, at her will and pleasure, and when it should seeme good to her highnesse. Their Musicke so highly pleased her, that in grace and favour thereof, she gave a newe name unto one of their Pavans, made long since by Master Thomas Morley, then Organist of Paules Church.

Morley's name has always been associated with the standard mixed consort since he was the first to publish music for it, but it may be doubted whether he wrote any original compositions for the six instruments apart from the piece performed at Elvetham which cannot now be traced.³ Possibly this pavan was merely an arrangement of a work for another medium, as were most of the pieces in the Consort Lessons. The compositions attributed to Morley in Rosseter's Lessons for Consort are similarly arrangements by Rosseter of instrumental and vocal music by Morley.

1. Illustrated below, p. 65 (Plate I).

2. HE sig. B4'-C1.

3. No compositions by Morley dedicated to Queen Elizabeth are extant.

Probably the only composers to write music specially for this combination of instruments were Richard Alison and Daniel Bachiler. Alison's seven identifiable compositions in Morley's Consort Lessons include five (TC 601-2, 604-5, 607) which exploit the consort by alternating groups of instruments and using contrasting timbres for the same melodic material as in the following example from 'The Bachilers delight' (TC 605):¹

Ex. 14

Treble viol

Flute

Lute

Cittern

Bandora

Bass viol

Alison

In view of the early date of such compositions (their presence in the Walsingham consort books indicates that they were written before 1588) the group of instruments should perhaps be called 'Alison's sextet' rather than 'Morley's sextet' as is customary.

Bachiler's consort compositions survive exclusively in the Walsingham manuscripts and have only recently become susceptible to reconstruction

1. A further example of this technique, from Alison's 'Go from my window' (TC 607) is quoted in ReeseMR, 875-6.

and comment with the discovery of three of the part-books at Beverley. They are less accomplished and individual than Alison's in technique and style. His handling of harmonies can be somewhat awkward and there is much material which is plainly derived from Alison's. But in spite of this his creations have great charm, particularly the extended pavan 'Sir Frances Walsinghams goodmorowe' (TC 703), the medley of popular tunes known as 'The Lady Frances Sidneys felicitye' (TC 610) and the melancholy 'Daniells trial' (TC 612) the last of whose three strains resembles other Elizabethan consort pavans (TC 453, 627 and 630) in its use of a plainsong-like melody in the treble part:¹

Ex. 15
Treble viol

Bachiler

Flute

Cittern

Bass viol

(Lute and bandora parts missing)

It is rather odd that none of Bachiler's compositions were printed in Morley's Consort Lessons; even the fine 'Bachilers delight' by Alison had to wait till the second edition after Morley's death. Did Morley have a personal quarrel with Bachiler?

The Cambridge consort manuscripts were compiled with different combinations of instruments in mind, a notable modification being the substitution of a recorder for the transverse flute. Most of Richard Reade's compositions seem to have been written especially for this

1. Cf. 'Semper Dowland semper dolens' (Dowland_L, altus part) and Dering's pavan in MB, ix, 100.

slightly different consort. The manuscripts also contain music for other groups of instruments including various pieces using the orpharion instead of (or perhaps in one instance alongside) the lute.¹ One of Reade's pieces is described as 'for iij wiers' and is possibly designed for two orpharions and a bandora with the recorder reinforcing the top part (TC 640). In at least one case ('Nuttmigs and ginger' TC 659) the recorder takes over the principal melody part, but since a treble violin part-book is missing it is impossible to say whether that instrument played an inner part of a descant, or whether it was excluded altogether. The contents of these books are surely the tip of an iceberg at the base of which were allkinds of pieces for diverse groups of instruments, now submerged in the ocean of lost Elizabethan music.²

The Cambridge consort lute book, Dd.3.18, is also an important source of 'lute trebles', single line parts often of a highly ornate nature which may combine with either specially composed music for consort or a second lute (both alternatives exist for Alison's 'Sharp pavan' TC 603), or with a simple ground (e.g. the first of John Johnson's 'Dumps' TC 849). In many cases grounds are absent from the part-books presumably because either they were originally written down in another lute book or they were improvised on the lute, cittern, bandora, bass viol or other suitable instruments, or any combination of these. The Cambridge consort manuscripts serve as a constant reminder of the contemporary practice of extemporization and supplying well-known accompaniments from memory. This is true not only in connection with lute trebles but for a variety of pieces which stand incomplete in this source. Even if

1. TC 640, 727 and 730.

2. Cf. below, p. 68

the lost treble violin and bandora parts were to be discovered the need for further reconstruction of some pieces would not be eliminated. Cittern and bass viol parts are not provided for the 'Jewes dawnce' (TC 629) for example, but the music would nevertheless benefit from their addition by improvisation on the four-bar bergamasca ground.

The same may probably also be said of many so-called cittern 'solos' including some of Holborne's in the Cittharn schoole (1597) referred to as 'the most usual and familiar grounds of these our times, for consort or thine owne private selfe'.¹ Perhaps some of these pieces ought to be catalogued as consort music. Brian Jeffery has pointed out that 'Bonny sweet Robin' (sig. B2) and 'In peascod time' (sig. C1') require bass and treble parts respectively to complete them.² Doubtless this did not prevent them from being performed solo, but as the tunes were well known at the time it must be assumed that they were also added by other players spontaneously from memory.

The sources which contain duets for bass viol and a plucked instrument are separate from other consort sources. Some of these pieces can only be called consort music in a technical sense in that the viol part merely reinforces a bass line already present in the other instrument. This is true of the three duets for lute and bass viol. Indeed the lute part of 'Dowlands adew' (TC 707) appears virtually unaltered in a solo lute source. The viol has a much more convincing part to play in Holborne's duets with cittern. Without a supporting instrument the number of

1. This passage refers only to the second section of HolborneC (sig. B2'-D3), not to the whole book, and in particular not to the pieces for cittern and bass viol, as assumed in JefferyH, 156.

2. JefferyH, 157, including musical examples.

chords available to the cittern player is somewhat limited if a good bass line is to be maintained. The separate bass part allowed Holborne to exploit a greater harmonic range in the instrument than would otherwise have been possible. As he put it in the preface to his publication (1597):

These thinges being of another stampe, doe carry their naturall partes tyed together in a different nature, with some reasonable good cordes and bindings after a more heedful manner of composition.

It is surprising that no-one in England apparently followed this lead.

I have come across no duets for cittern and viol in manuscript, though many cittern pieces pass for solos in spite of their inadequate bass line.

CHAPTER II

SOME CONTEMPORARY TERMS

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Consort

Among the Cecil Family and Estate Papers at Hatfield House is a document recording rewards paid to the King's servants at Newerstide on 1st January 1605.¹ The musicians concerned are described as 'the consort of veyals', 'the consort of flutes', 'the drumes', 'the trumpeters' and 'the consort of howboyes and cornets'. The word 'consort' is used in the same sense as in this thesis, and indeed has the same musical meaning as it commonly has today when applied to this period, that is, a group of instrumentalists playing together. The word is of course frequently extended in present day use to cover ensembles of voices with or without instrumental accompaniment, and this is historically correct in view of Bullokar's definition in The English Expositor (1616) as 'A company: or a company of Musitions together'.² An early example of this use of the word occurs in Sidney's 'New' Arcadia (published in 1590): 'an excellent consort streight followed of five Violles, and as manie voyces'.³ Similarly a section of the King's Musick comprising 'lutes and voices' or 'lutes, viols and voices' was known from at least 1614 as 'the consort'.⁴

The Oxford English Dictionary states that⁵

In the musical uses ... there can be no doubt that consort was from the beginning an erroneous representation of F. concert, It. concerto: this unfamiliar foreign word being, from similarity

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1. Accounts 6/30.
 2. BullokarE sig. E1'.
 3. III.xv.3; quoted from SidneyW, j, 441.
 4. WoodfillM, 186.
 5. OED s.v. Consort.

of pronunciation, confounded with the familiar one, with sense 2 [accord; agreement; concurrence] of which it had contiguity of meaning.

This may not be strictly true with regard to the French word since its earliest recorded use as a musical term is in Cotgrave's Dictionarie of the French and English tongues (London, 1611) where 'concert de musique' is equated with 'a consort of musicke'.¹ Probably both French and English words derive from the Italian concerto which does indeed seem to have had a very similar meaning in the sixteenth century to the English meaning already outlined. Its use has been investigated by David Boyden who concluded that²

The earliest uses of the word concerto in music seem to convey simply the idea of an ensemble of voices or instruments. After the middle of the 16th century, this notion is extended to mean an ensemble of voices accompanied by instruments in the sense of "per cantar e sonar".

Yet this term is not so simple to define in either English or Italian as at first appears. Boyden has explained how the Italian term concerto came to be applied alongside its older sense in an etymologically more accurate way.³ This was to describe the new styles of the end of the cinquecento which involved solo-like parts and 'competing' choirs and groups of instruments. Concerto was also used in Italy in the sense of a musical entertainment in which a number of performers took part. Neither of these meanings reached England until well into the seventeenth century and the earlier examples usually employ 'consort' as a straightforward translation of the Italian word. The former sense is present in Monteverdi's heading 'Concerto' in his

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1. RobertD s.v. Concert. No sixteenth-century musical use is recorded under the same heading in HuguetD.
 2. BoydenWC, 224.
 3. BoydenWC, 224-6.

seventh book of madrigals, and this is echoed in Walter Porter's Madrigales and ayres (1632), modelled on Monteverdi's publication,¹ whose title-page refers to 'TOCCATOS, SINFONIAS and RITTORNELLOS ... After the manner of Consort Musique'. Fynes Moryson in the following extract from his unpublished Itinerary (c1619) concerning Italy appears to be referring to the Italian concerti or concertoni in the latter sense approximating to today's 'concert':²

And in all Churches upon all Sondayes and festifall dayes they have consortes of excelent musicke, both lowde and still Instruments and voyces.

During the earliest stage of its use³ however the English word 'consort' seems to have had a more precise quasi-technical meaning which owed nothing to Italian practice. Praetorius explains its application to groups of diverse instruments coming from different families in the following two passages:⁴

Die Engelländer nennens gar apposite a consortio ein Consort, Wenn etliche Personen mit allerley Instrumenten, als Clavicymbel oder Grossspinet - gross-Lyra - Doppelharff - Lautten - Theorben - Bandorn - Penorcon - Zittern - Viol de Gamba einer kleinen Discant Geig - einer Querflöit oder Blockflöit - bissweilen auch einer stillen Posaun oder Racket zusammen in einer Compagny unnd Gesellschaft gar still - sanfft und lieblich accordiren, und in ammutiger Symphonia mit einander zusammen stimmen.

Einen Lauten-Chor nenne ich - wenn man Clavicymbel oder Spinetten, Instrumenta pennata, (sonsten in gemein Instrument genant) Theorben, Lauten - Bandoren - Orpheoreon, Cithern, eine grosse Bass-Lyra, oder was und so viel man von solchen unnd dergleichen Fundament-Instrumenten zuwege bringen kan - zusammen ordnet: Darbey denn eine Bass-Geig sich wegen des Fundaments nicht ubel schickt. Welcher Chor droben fol. 5. ein Englisch Consort ist genennet worden - und wegen anrührung der vielen Sätzen gar ein schönen

1. BukofzerM, 197.

2. MorysonS, 440.

3. I.e. 1575-c1625. No musical use of the substantive 'Consort' is recorded in MED or CarterD.

4. PraetoriusS, iij, 5 and 168.

effectum machet - und herzlichen lieblichen Resonantz von sich gibt.

He accounts for his own experience of such music by describing a rendition (which presumably took place in Germany) of Wert's seven-part motet 'Egressus Jesus' by an ensemble of two theorbos, three lutes, two citterns, four clavicembali and spinets, seven viole da gamba, two transverse flutes, two boy singers, one alto singer and a bass violin.¹

Praetorius's descriptions have a somewhat fanciful ring about them and may not be altogether accurate reflections of English practice. But in England itself Francis Bacon was using 'consort' in the same special sense, meaning a mixture of unlike instruments:²

give date

In that Musicke, which we call Broken musicke, or Consort Musicke; Some Consorts of Instruments are sweeter than others; (a Thing not sufficiently yet observed;) As the Irish Harpe and Base Viall agree well; the Recorder and Stringed Musick agree well: Organs and the Voice agree well; &c. But the Virginalls and the Lute; Or the Welch-Harpe, and Irish-Harpe; Or the Voice and Pipes alone, agree not so well; But for the Melioration of Musicke, there is yet much left (in this Point of Exquisite Consorts) to try and enquire.

The expression 'broken music', which will be discussed shortly, occurs in conjunction with 'consort' to convey a similar meaning in a contemporary account of Queen Elizabeth's progress to Norwich in 1578. Thomas Churchyard describes an entertainment devised by him featuring a cave in which was³

A noble noyse of Musicke of al kind of instruments, severally to be sounded and played upon; and at one time they shoulde be sounded all together, that mighte serve for a consorte of broken Musicke.

1. PraetoriusS, iij, 168.

2. BaconS, 72.

3. ChurchyardD sig. E3'.

The earliest recorded example of the word 'consort' in a musical sense is in George Gascoigne's description (published in 1576) of a spectacle presented to the Queen at Kenilworth in 1575:¹

From thence her Majestie passing yet further on the brydge,
Protheus appeared, sitting on a Dolphyns backe. And the Dolphyn
was conveyed upon a boate, so that the Owers seemed to bee his
Fynnes. With in the which Dolphyn a Consort of Musicke was
secretely placed, the which sounded, and Protheus clearing his
voyce, sang.

Robert Laneham's account of the same event informs us that the consort consisted of six different instruments:²

Heerwith Arion for theez great benefitez, after a feaw well
couched words unto her Maiesty of thanksgyving, in supplement
of the same: beegan a delectabl ditty of a song wel apted too a
melodious noiz, compounded of six severall instruments al
coovert, casting soound from the Dolphins belly within, Arion
the seaventh sitting thus singing (az I say) without.

A much later example of the same idea is in Charles Butler's Principles of Musik (1636):³

The severall kinds of Instruments ar commonly used severally by
them selvs: as a Set of Viols, a Set of Waits, or the like: but
sometimes, upon some special occasion, many of both Sorts ar most
sweetly joined in Consort.

As a verb 'to consort' often seems to have similar implications of bringing together a mixture of instruments. For example in Sidney's 'Old' Arcadia:⁴

-
1. The princelye pleasures, at the courte at Kenelwoorth, London, 1576. The only known copy, in Birmingham Free Library, was destroyed by fire in 1879. This quotation is from the 1587 edition of Gascoigne's collected works, GascoigneW (unpaginated section at the end, sig. B1). A reprint of the 1576 edition was published in 1821 and the differences between this and the 1587 edition are listed in GascoigneW, ij, 569-71. Further instances of the word 'consort' in the same work are quoted below, p. 55.
 2. LanehamL, 43.
 3. ButlerP, 93.
 4. SidneyOA, 135.

Seven appassionate shepherds, all keeping the pace of their foot by their voice and sundry consorted instruments they held in their arms.

The long title-page for Tobias Hume's Poeticall musicke (1607) specifies seven categories of music in which orpharions and various viols are used, but

The eight and last musicke, is consorting all these Instruments together with the Virginalls, or rather with a winde Instrument and the Voice.

In the same year Thomas Campion uses both verb and substantive forms in his description of the Lord Hayes mask:¹

On the right hand whereof were consorted ten Musitions, with Basse and Meane Lutes, a Bandora, a double Sack-bott, and an Harpsicord, with two treble Violins; on the other side somewhat neerer the skreene were plac't 9. Violins and three Lutes, and to answere both the Consorts ... sixe Cornets, and sixe Chappell voyces.

The word 'consort' occurs a number of other times in the narrative but always in connection with the group of ten musicians and the ensemble of violins and lutes, never with the cornetts and voices.

The classic grouping together of unlike instruments in England at the time was the six instruments used in Morley's Consort Lessons (1599 and 1611) and Rosseter's Lessons for consort (1609). The use of the word 'consort' in these titles is surely significant for it seems to turn up every time this particular instrumental grouping is involved. The instruments were meticulously listed at Elvetham in 1591 and together described as 'an exquisite consort'.² The same group is used in the Walsingham part-books (1588) whose contemporary contents list is headed 'The note of the songes in my consorte bookes', and a number of

1. CampionD sig. A4-A4'.

2. HE sig. E1'. Quoted above, p. 29.

individual manuscript parts are designated 'for consort' or 'to the consort'.¹ William Leighton's 1614 collection, involving the six instruments in an accompanying role, has the following title:²

THE TEARES OR LAMENTACIONES OF A SORROWFULL SOULE: Composed with Musically Ayres and Songs, both for Voyces and divers Instruments ... And all Psalmes that consist of so many feete as the fiftieth Psalme, will goe to the foure partes for Consort.

The table of songs in this publication clearly distinguishes between the accompanied 'consort songs' and the unaccompanied '4 Parts for Voyces' and 'Songs of 5. Parts for Voyces'. This is the only contemporary use I have found of the term 'consort song'.³

The word 'consort' is absent however from Holborne's and Dowland's ensemble publications, and from the numerous madrigal prints 'apt for voices or viols' which appeared from 1600 onwards. Neither is it used in any of the manuscript sources of Elizabethan ~~ensemble~~ music other than those which supply parts for a mixed group of instruments. Only with John Adson's Courtly masquing ayres ... for violins, consorts and cornets (London, 1611 and 1621) is the word used in conjunction with a set of parts in staff notation. Even here it may well imply a performance option of mixed instruments as opposed to a set of violins or the standard ensemble of loud instruments, cornetts and sackbuts.⁴

Perhaps the most emphatic indication that 'consort' was used in such a specific way is in an early seventeenth-century account of the

1. TC 717, 721, 733 and 740.

2. Treble viol, flute and bass viol take cantus, altus and bassus, respectively, while the tenor part is absorbed into the lute, cittern, and bandora parts.

3. Cf. BretteC, 73.

4. Cf. ManifoldM, 46.

instruments used at the English Jesuit College at St. Omer in France.¹
A mixture of instruments is called in Latin 'concentum' or 'consortio',²
but to make the point quite clear the vernacular is also stated, 'the
consort':

Permixta tamen varij generis instrumenta, quae concentum, seu
consortium instrumentorum vocant, (vulgo, the consort) excipiendis
hospitibus et viris honoratis est multo delectabilior, praesertim
si et cantiones ipsae sint selectae, et iucundae.

The best instruments for such an ensemble are ~~subsequently~~ listed, and
correspond closely with the consort of Morley's publication. This type
of music is, according to the document, quite separate from music for
viols, music for haut-bois or recorders, and music for sackbuts and
cornetts.

There are many other instances of the word 'consort' in sixteenth-
century literature and documents. They are listed at the end of this
chapter in an appendix covering the period 1576-1605, after which the
more general meaning simply of instruments playing together seems to
have become much more widespread. In most cases it cannot be proved
whether a mixture of instruments is indicated or not, but a particularly
large number of quotations are associated with the theatre, masks and
other entertainments, with which the surviving repertory of mixed ensemble
pieces is known to have been connected.³

1. For more detailed information and discussion, including a full
quotation of the surrounding paragraphs concerning music, see below,
pp. 59-61.

2. The Latin terms would appear to be back-formations from English,
consortio because of its similar sound and spelling, concentus
because of its musical connotations.

3. See DartMC and Beck's Introduction to MorleyCL'.

Broken and whole consorts

The generally accepted definition of the terms 'broken consort' and 'whole consort' was expressed some time ago by Galpin as follows:¹

Now such combinations as we have been describing were also called Consorts; if they consisted solely of the members of one family of instruments, such as the Viols, or the Lutes, or the Recorders, or the Shawms, they were termed "whole consorts"; if members of different families were united, a "broken consort" was the result.

This view seems to have arisen initially out of attempts to explain 'broken music' in Shakespeare (see below, pp. 50-1). Naylor for example mentioned the existence of Matthew Locke's Compositions for Broken, and whole Consorts² when summarising the theories current in 1896 on 'broken music', but he did not pursue the relationship.³ Galpin seems not to have known Locke's autograph manuscript cited by Naylor at first hand since he erroneously assumed it to be a printed volume 'issued in 1672'.⁴ He justified his definition by referring to entries in the Lord Chamberlain's Records for 1660:⁵

June 16. Musicians of the private Musick ... [list includes] Davis Mell, a violin, his own place and in Woodington's place, for the broken consort also.

November 9. Warrant to admit the following musicians to his Majesty's private musick in ordinary: ... [list includes] Henry Hawes in the broken consort, in the place of Robert Tomkins, formerly belonging to Robert Kinnersley, for a viol, 1s. 8d. per diem and £16 2s. 6d. for livery.

As Christopher Field has pointed out it may have been this group of musicians which gave its name to Locke's two sets of compositions

1. GalpinO, 202.

2. Lbm Add. 17801.

3. NaylorS, 31 (1st edn.).

4. GalpinO, 205.

5. LafontaineK, 114 and 117.

bearing the title 'The Broken Consort', a title which incidentally occurs only in British Museum Add. 17801 and not in other manuscript sources of the same music.¹ Galpin argued that this broken consort 'was the King's "Private Music for lutes, violls and voices", consisting of six singers, three lutenists, two violinists and eight viol players'.² He then proceeded to equate 'broken consort' with 'broken music' making reference to Bacon's discussion of the latter.

The relevance of the expression 'broken and whole consorts' to Elizabethan and Jacobean music may be questioned in view of the late date and extremely localized nature of the references. It is far from certain that King Charles II's broken consort was synonymous with the broken music of half a century ago. In order to be positive more examples of the term would need to be produced showing that some link existed between the Jacobean and Restoration terminology.

Beck has drawn attention to the following passage in George Herbert's poem 'Dooms-day' (c1630):³

Come away,
Help our decay.
Man is out of order hurl'd,
Parcel'd out to all the world.
Lord, Thy broken consort raise,
And the musick shall be praise.

John Hollander, commenting on this passage, observes that 'broken consort' is a musical term meaning a mixed group of winds, plucked and bowed strings.⁴

1. FieldLC, 22. Cf. MB, xxxij, p. xv.

2. GalpinO, 202.

3. HerbertT, 181. The manuscript version of the poem in Ob Tanner 307 (printed in HerbertT, 183) gives no significant variants.

4. HollanderU, 292.

He suggests that Herbert may be alluding to the mixture of the final trumpet and the scattered voices of the awakened dead (mentioned earlier in the poem). But this is hindsight, based on the belief that 'broken consort' was already in use as a musical term, which has yet to be established. To this quotation may be added a further example of the two words in juxtaposition from a manuscript entitled Merry Passages and Jests in the hand of Sir Nicholas Le Strange (1603-55):¹

Old Fram: Gawdy ... finding that the splendour of his comrade,
drew such a goodly traine of Beggars, whose Broken Consort quite
confounded the Harmonie of their private, and then serious,
Discourse ...

It is just possible that a quasi-technical term is being used here, but the immediate meaning of 'broken' is perhaps simply 'disordered'.

It has never been shown that the expression 'whole consort' as used by Matthew Locke was known to earlier generations. Boyden remarked that he had been unable to find the term 'until well into the 17th century'.² I have come across one instance where it might be used in a specific way, but the ensemble in question is one of voices not instruments. The occasion, reported in an anonymous contemporary printed account, was the performance at Theobalds of a welcome song before the kings of Denmark and England on 24th July 1606, 'The Stanzaes by a single voice, the Chorus by a whole consort of voices'.³ It may be doubted that a group of like as opposed to unlike instruments is meant here, even if the

1. Lbm Harley 6395 f. 82 (Anecdote 581). A selection from the manuscript (including this passage) is printed in ThomsA, with an introduction by J. G. Nichols. Cf. WillettsNS, 37-40.

2. BoydenWC, 229.

3. KDw, 13.

concept of instruments is stretched to include voices. Since the stanzas were sung by a single voice there was possibly an instrumental accompaniment present throughout, in which case the ensemble would have been strictly speaking a mixed one anyway. It is more likely that 'whole' means 'complete' in this context,¹ as in a letter dated October 1595 from Sir Richard Champernowne to Sir Robert Cecil complaining about the loss of a boy singer: 'lackyng hym, my whole consort for musyck, which most delytes mee, wer clean overthrowen'.²

Comparison may be made with Sidney's use of the expression 'full consort' in The Lady of May. Espilus sings to the accompaniment of his fellow shepherds' recorders, after which Therion's forresters play their cornetts. Later 'the shepheards and forresters made a full consort of their cornets and recorders'.³ Fleming, describing the entertainment of a delegation of French noblemen at Westminster in the spring of 1581, probably uses the word in a similar sense. A well decked chariot entered bearing 'four foster children of desire', while on top of the carriage four knights sat with a beautiful lady as a symbol of desire, and if that was not enough,⁴

In the bulke of the charriot was conveied roome for a full consort of musike, who plaid still verie dolefull musike as the charriot mooved.

The same sense was probably meant when the five recorders in the custody of the Norwich waits in 1584-5 were described as 'beeyng a whoall noyse'.⁵

-
1. Cf. OED s.v. whole, senses A.6-9.
 2. Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 35/100.
 3. Sidney, ij, 337.
 4. Holinshed, ij, 1320.
 5. Stephen, 66, quoting from an inventory of the city's goods preserved with the Chamberlain's accounts.

These examples are hardly sufficient to justify the commonly held view that Elizabethans distinguished between 'broken and whole consorts'. Neither need any significance be claimed for the antithesis between 'broken' and 'whole' in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida (quoted below, p. 51) in spite of the musical context, since 'whole' may in any case be an antonym of 'broken'.

Broken music

PS I wonder whether it wouldn't be more appropriate to reverse the order of this & the following section & the conclusion to put your received view first and interpret it second. More logical.

Reference has already been made (p. 39) to two quotations containing the expression 'broken music'. In one of them 'broken music' is equated with 'consort music', while in the other the two concepts are closely ~~related~~ ^{associated}. In both the word 'consort' is used to denote a mixture of instruments. To Churchyard's evidence in connection with Queen Elizabeth's progress to Norwich in 1578 may be added that of Bernard Garter, another chronicler of the same event. He records that when Elizabeth first arrived at the city and passed under the gate,¹

The Musitions within the gate upon their softe instruments used broken Musicke, and one of them did sing.

It cannot be said with certainty that both authors were describing the same kind of music, instruments, and musicians although there seems to be some likelihood that this was so. Bacon used the term on another occasion, at the beginning of his Essay of Masques and Triumphs:²

These Things are but Toyes, to come amongst such Serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better, they should be Graced with Elegancy, then Daubed with Cost. Dancing to Song, is a Thing of great State, and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musicke: And the Ditty fitted to the Device.

A common factor in three of these examples is the use of broken music for the lavish entertainment of royalty. Richard Brathwait in Some rules and orders for the government of the house of an Earle (early 17th century)³ testifies further to the high calling of 'broken music'. Five musicians

1. GarterJ sig. C3.
2. BaconE, 223.
3. Lbm Add. 29262.

are recommended for an Earl's household¹ and their duties should be as follows:²

At great feastes when the Earles service is going to the table they are to play upon Shagbutts, Cornetts, Shalmes, and such other instruments going with winde. In meale times to play upon vialls, violens, or other broken musicke. They are to teach the Earles children to singe and play upon the base violl the virginalls, Lute, Bandora, or Citerne.

Perhaps the best known examples of the term 'broken music' in literature occur in Shakespeare's plays, but unfortunately they can throw but little light on the situation being used merely for the value of 'broken' as currency for making puns. In view of the apparent association of the term with entertainment provided by professional musicians it is more than likely that ~~such~~ 'broken music' was ^{also} to be heard at the theatre. There are three instances, the earliest being in Henry V (1599):³

KING. Come your Answer in broken Musick; for thy Voyce is Musick, and thy English broken: Therefore Queene of all, Katherine, breake thy minde to me in broken English; wilt thou have me?

As you like it (1600):⁴

CLO[WN]. Thus men may grow wiser every day. It is the first time that ever I heard breaking of ribbes was sport for Ladies.
CEL[IA]. Or I, I promise thee.
ROS[ALIND]. But is there any else longs to see this broken Musicke in his sides? Is there yet another doates upon rib-breaking? Shall we see this wrastling Cosin?

Troilus and Cressida (1606):⁵

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1. Ibid., f. 1.
 2. Ibid., f. 14'.
 3. V.ii, quoted from ShakespeareN, ij, 433. The passage does not appear in the 'bad' quartos of 1600, 1602 and 1619.
 4. I.ii.130-6, quoted from the New Variorum edition, ed. H. H. Furness, Philadelphia, 1890, pp. 34-5.
 5. III.i.47-52, quoted from the New Variorum edition, ed. H. N. Hillebrand, Philadelphia, 1953, pp. 135-6.

HEL[ENA]. Deere L. you are full of faire words.
 PAN[DARUS]. You speake your faire pleasure sweete Queene: faire
 Prince, here is good broken Musicke.
 PAR[IS]. You have broke¹ it cozen: and by my life you shall make
 it whole againe, you shall peece it out with a peece of
 your performance. Nel, he is full of harmony.

It is usually assumed in the light of Francis Bacon's discussion of 'broken musicke' that 'broken' refers to the breaking up of 'whole' sets of instruments into mixtures of instruments from different families, but this need not be the case. It is odd that the term is not mentioned in mixed consort publications or manuscript sources, or in the detailed descriptions of Praetorius and the St. Omer document. Bacon was not defining the term and there may be other reasons why the music of such consorts came to be known as 'broken music'.

By far the most common Elizabethan connotation of 'broken' or 'break' in a musical context is that of division, the 'breaking' of long notes into smaller ones. Morley consistently uses the word in this sense in the Plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597), for example:²

When they did sing upon their plainsongs, he who sung the ground ... sometimes would breake some notes in division, which they did for the more formall comming to their closes.

I have broken the plainsong [in one of the examples quoted] and caused it to answer in Fuge as a third part to the others: so that you may at your pleasure, sing it broken or whole, for both the waies.

Numerous other examples may be found, and later in the seventeenth century the word retained the same meaning. Christopher Simpson for example defines 'division' in the Division Viol (1665) as 'the Breaking,

1. 'Broken' in the folios of 1632, 1664 and 1685.

2. MorleyP, annotations to part II, and p. 99, respectively.

either of the Bass, or of any higher Part'. An echo of this use is perhaps to be found in our present term 'broken chord', although the Oxford English Dictionary records no examples before 1879.¹

Could 'broken music' imply, in the early stages of its use at any rate, music making a special feature of division?² Rapid virtuoso passage work is found in almost every example of the repertory for mixed consort. By the turn of the century 'broken music' in this sense may have become so closely connected with 'consorte music' that the two were regarded as synonymous even if rapid division did not happen to be a feature.

Curiously this hypothesis is not entirely new. Naylor suggested at the end of the last century that the phrase "'breaking" notes, may be taken as a partial explanation of several passages in Shakespeare, where "broken music" is referred to'.³ A certain amount of confusion has grown up in the musical literature of the last fifty years or so because writers have seldom discussed 'broken music' but rather the expression 'broken and whole consorts'.

1. OED s.v. Chord, sense 3b.

2. This idea was originally suggested to me by Ian Harwood.

3. NaylorS, 30-1 (1st edn.).

Appendix to Chapter II

The following list contains all the instances known to me of the substantive 'consort' used in a musical sense up to and including the year 1605. Much of the material was assembled in the first instance by Sydney Beck in the Introduction to his edition of Morley's Consort Lessons. In order to supplement this I have consulted the following works under the heading 'Consort': Oxford English Dictionary (including the Supplement of 1972); C. T. Onions, A Shakespeare glossary, revised edition, 1953; C. G. Osgood, A concordance to the poems of Edmund Spenser, Washington, 1915. I have also scanned John Nichols, Progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth, London, 1823. Extensive reading of contemporary material, especially works having a direct bearing on music, has revealed a number of further examples.

I have adopted the classification and definitions of the Oxford English Dictionary as a basic framework, since the word 'consort' is probably used with its specific meaning, indicating an ensemble of unlike instruments, in most categories. Quotations are exact transcriptions from the original sources unless otherwise stated.

CONSORT (substantive). Sense 3: The accord or harmony of several instruments or voices playing or singing in tune.

1587 Abraham Fleming, Continuation of Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles, London, 1587, iij, 1552: Divine service so melodiouslie said and soong, both by voice and instruments of consort.

1588 R. Parke, tr., The historie ... of China ... translated out of Spanish [of J. Gonzalez de Mendoza], 1588, p. 173: All the time that the supper indured, there was in the hall great store of musicke of divers instruments, whereon they played with great

consort,¹ some one time and some an other. The instruments which they commonly do use are hoybackes, cornets, trumpets, lutes, such as be used in Spaine, although in the fashion ther is some difference.

Sense 3b (with adjective and plural): A singing or playing in harmony; a harmonious combination of voices or instruments; the harmonious music so produced.

1579 Stephen Gosson, The schoole of abuse, London, 1579, f. 11:

Bringing sweete consortes into Theaters, which rather effeminate the minde, as pricks unto vice, then procure amendement of manners, as spurres to vertue. [f. 14':] Straunge consortes of melody, to tickle the eare; costly apparel, to flatter the sight. [cf. Thomas Lodge's reply, below, 1580]

1579 Stephen Gosson, 'An apologie of the Schoole of Abuse', in The Ephemerides of Phialo, London, 1579, f. 86: Their daintie consortes will make us wantons. [Referring to 'pypers' and 'their new streines']

1580 Thomas Lodge, Defense of poetry, music and stage plays, 1580, quoted from LodgeD', 19-20: Our pleasant consortes do discomfort you much ... if you wear a professor of that practice [music] I would quickly perswade you that the adding of strings to our instrument make the sound more harmonious, and that the mixture of Musike maketh a better concert. [A reply to Stephen Gosson's Schoole of abuse, see above, 1579]

1586 Marlowe, Tamburlaine Pt. I, IV.iv, quoted from Works, London, 1930, p. 152: Methinks 'tis a great deal better than a consort of music.

1591 Shakespeare, Two Gentlemen of Verona, III.ij, quoted from ShakespeareN, j, 109:

PRO[THEUS]. Visit by night your Ladies chamber-window
With some sweet Consort; To their Instruments
Tune a deploring dumpe.

1596 William Barley, A new booke of tabliture for the bandora, London, 1596, preface: [The bandora] is an Instrument commendable and fit, either in consort or alone.

1. Original Spanish (Rome, 1585): 'con gran concierto'.

1597 Antony Holborne, The cittharn schoole, London, 1597, preface:
[see main text, p. 33]

1603 Inventory of Thomas Kytson's goods, Hengrave Hall, Suffolk
(MS now deposited in Cambridge University Library), quoted from
GageH, 23-5: Instreuments and books of musicke. [List includes]
Itm, v books covered with pchment, with pavines and galliafes [sic]
for the consort.

1604 Thomas Wright, The passions of the minde in generall, London,
1604, p. 164: And the Church, for this same effect, useth the
consorts of musical instruments, add the hermonie of voices.
[Similar references on pp. 165, 167, 168 and 171]

Sense 3c: In transferred sense and figurative. (Examples under this
heading have scarcely any relevance to the argument of the present
chapter and are therefore not listed)

Sense 3d: In consort: = in concert.

1590 Edmund Spenser, Faerie Queene, II.ix.35.2, quoted from the
Variorum edition, Baltimore, 1933, p. 118:
Diverse delights they found them selves to please;
Some song in sweet consort, some laught for joy.

Sense 4: A company or set of musicians, vocal or instrumental, making
music together.

1576 George Gascoigne, The princelye pleasures, at the courte at
Kenelwoorth, London, 1576, quoted from Gascoigne (unpaginated
section at the end, sig. B7'): HHere Dyana with her Nimphes assisted
by a consort of musicke unseene, shoulde sing this soag or rondled
[sc. song or rondlet] folowing. [sig. C8:] Herewith the consort
of Musicke sounded, and Deepe desire sung this song. [See also
main text, p. 40]

1578 Bernard Garter, The joyfull receyving of the Queenes most
excellent Majestie into ... Norwich, London, 1578, sig. E1: Then
entred a consorte of Musicke. viz. sixe Musitions, all in long
vestures of white Sarcenet gyrded aboute them, and garlands on their
heades playing very cunningly. [See also main text, p. 49]

- 1579 Thomas Churchyard, A discourse of the Queenes Majesties entertainment in Suffolk and Norffolk, London, [1579?], sig. E3': [See main text, p. 39]
- 1584 Anthony Munday, Fedele and Fortunatio, London, 1585, end of each act: The first Act beeing ended, the Consorte of Musique soundeth a pleasant Galliard. The second Act beeing ended, the Consorte soundeth again. The ~~Third~~ Act being doone, the Consort sounds a sollemne Dump. The fourth Act being ended, the Consort soundeth a pleasant Allemaigne. The fift Act being done, let the Consort sound a cheerefull Galliard, and every one taking handes together, departe singing.
- 1586 John Case, The praise of musicke, Oxford, 1586, p. 75: The court with her consortes, corporations with their waites.
- 1586 Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, London, 1590, III.xv.3: [See main text, p. 36]
- 1586 Sir Philip Sidney, The Lady of May, London, 1598: [See main text, p. 47]
- 1587 Abraham Fleming, Continuation of Raphael Holinshed's Chronicles, London, 1587, iij, 1320: [See main text, p. 47]
- 1588 Anthony Munday, A Banquet of Daintie Conceyts, London, 1588, quoted from MorleyCL, 22: This dittie is sung after the note to the Flatt Pavin which is plaide in consorts.
- 1591 Robert Wilmot, The tragedie of Tancred and Gismund, London, 1591, quoted from the re-issue of 1592, sig. H4': Before this Act [IV] there was heard a consort of sweet musick. [Cf. introductions to Act II ('there was heard a sweete noice of stil pipes'), Act III ('the Hobaies sounded a lofty Almain') and Act V ('Before this Act was a dead march plaid')]
- 1591 The honorable entertainment giuen to the Queenes Majestie ... at Elvetham ... by ... the Earle of Hertford, London, 1591, sig. E2': As her Majestie passed through the Parke gate, there was a consort of Musitions hidden in a bower, to whose playing this Dittie of Come againe was sung, with excellent division, by two, that were cunning. [See also main text, pp. 28-9]
- 1595 Letter from Sir Richard Champernowne to Robert Cecil (MS, Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 35/100): [See main text, p. 47]
- 1602 W. Segar, Honor military, and civill, London, 1602, p. 200: I heard and saw three things that in all my travel of France, Italy, and Spaine, I never heard or saw the like. The first was

a consort of musicke, so excellent and sweet as cannot be expressed.
1603 York Corporation House Books, 1st Series, Book 32, f. 280',
quoted from WoodfillM, 85-6: [The waits were required] to exercise
and set up a consort amongst them ... twice in the week at the least.
1605 Rewards paid to the King's servants at Newerstide on 1st
January 1605, Hatfield House, CF & EP Accounts 6/30: [See main
text, p. 36]
Various lute and cittern parts designated 'for consorte' or 'to the
consort': [See main text, p. 42]

Sense 5: A musical entertainment in which a number of performers take
part. (No known examples up to 1605)

Sense 6: Attributive.

1588 Walsingham part-books (see below, pp. 270-5), loose leaf
containing 'the note of the songes in my consorte books'.
1599 Thomas Morley, title: THE FIRST BOOKE OF CONSORT LESSONS
(London, 1599).

CHAPTER III

INSTRUMENTATION

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The nature of the problem

When Francis Bacon observed that in 'Broken musicke, or Consort Musicke; Some Consorts of Instruments are sweeter than others' (see above, p. 39), he might have been appealing for common sense in the instrumentation of Elizabethan and Jacobean music. The principle of avoiding combinations which do not blend may still be applied today, but one should ^{also} ask which patterns were normal under the circumstances in which the music was originally heard, and what procedures were possible but rather unusual or inappropriate for one reason or another. A rigid choice of performing medium is alien to the Elizabethan period, but complete flexibility uninformed by historical and practical considerations may equally lead to performances far removed from the spirit in which the music was written.

A document from the English Jesuit College at St. Omer in France (already alluded to in the previous chapter) provides a unique starting point for such an enquiry.¹ It was written early in the seventeenth century to codify established customs one of which was the deployment of various musical instruments in a collegiate establishment. Since a translation by W. H. McCabe² is misleading in parts, and the original Latin has not to my knowledge appeared in print, a full transcription is given below:

1. The Custom Book of St. Omer by Fr. Giles Schondonch (rector 1600-17). A copy made in 1620 by Fr. Henry More was in Louvain University Library, MS D.321(160), but was destroyed by fire in 1940. A nineteenth-century transcript by Fr. L. Willaert is at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS Arch. C.II.19.

2. McCabeMD.

*It would be helpful
if you were to give a complete
translation - especially if you say
McCabe is unreliable!*

Quibus instrumentis Musicis utendum Caput 5emo

1. Honorata est Musica mere ex violis, ut vocant; in qua iuvenis accurate institui convenit.
2. Permixta tamen varij generis instrumenta, quae concertum, seu consortium instrumentorum vocant, (vulgo, the consort) excipiendis hospitibus et viris honoratis est multo delectabilior, praesertim si et cantiones ipsae sint selectae, et iucundae.
3. In consortio laudantur haec instrumenta.
Basse viole, seu viola de Gamba
Testudo, seu lute vel eius loco orpharion.
Treble viole.
Cythara.
Fistula -
si accedat violina, item Bajon multum addit delectationis et ornamenti.
4. Musica Pneumatica (id est, instrumenta quae flatu animantur) est plena maiestatis, praesertim pro templo, gratulationibus Principum, et Actionibus. Huius modi sunt litui (vulgo Haut-bois) quae modico flatu aguntur iuventuti aptissima, ut et litui Anglicani (vulgo Recorders) sed priora maiorem habent maiestatem.
5. Alia etiam pneumatica plus laterum et spiritus postulant, v.g. Tuba ductilis (vulgo sacbottum) et Tuba cornea (vulgo cornett)
6. Commendantur etiam instrumenta fidibus aeneis praefisca, quae non plectro, ut cythara; sed digitis ut ungue carpuntur, cuiusmodi sunt.
Orpharion; et nuper inventum in Anglia
Psal-malett, nobis datum ab inventore.
Denique lyra Hibernica, dum est qui uti norit.
Item Theorba Italica, quae nervis constat.
7. Organum praeterea et clavi cymbalum, tantum ecclesiasticum valde ornant et decent.
8. Livebit cuique qui vel canere vocibus vel instrumentis discit adire quotidie certo tempore magistros musicae a quibus docentur, cum venia tamen superioris.

The College distinguished between four types of ensemble music of which the first was the music of viols, in which young people should be carefully trained. Secondly there was the music of 'the consort', consisting of instruments such as those used by Morley in his Consort Lessons; this combination was apparently very effective when used for the reception of guests and persons of distinction. Thirdly, the music of wind instruments such as the 'haut-bois' and the 'recorders' was

suitable for the reception of persons of high rank and for the theatre; the former instruments did not overtax young players and were more majestic. Fourthly there were wind instruments such as the sackbuts and cornetts which required more lung-power.

The St. Omer document illustrates the importance of the occasion rather than the pieces of music themselves¹ in determining instrumentation. Associated with this is the symbolism of instruments as seen for instance in plays, masks and pageants, but this topic has been dealt with extensively elsewhere and need not be pursued here.² The social position of the players is an equally important consideration in determining instrumentation. The question of amateur and professional use of source material has already been touched on in considering the survival chances of Elizabethan music (pp. 2-3). The last chapter of Woodfill's Musicians in English society makes it clear how different were the instrumental resources of the two classes of players.

The playing of wind instruments by gentlemen was not encouraged in the Elizabethan etiquette books. Robert Peterson's translation of della Casa's Galateo (1576), for instance, describes the cornett as unbecoming to men and women 'if they be not of that base condition and calling, that they must make it a gaine, & an art to live upon it'.³ In Shakespeare's Hamlet a scene between Hamlet and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern

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1. 'Musica', in the original document, must be interpreted in the sense common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e. the actual sounds produced; the meaning 'compositions awaiting realisation in sound' is more recent.
 2. See SternfeldM, especially pp. 195-249. For symbolism and instruments on the Continent see WeaverSC. WinternitzM covers a wider span of time and refers mainly to the Continent.
 3. PetersonG, 114.

establishes clearly that courtiers, and by implication gentlemen, would not normally be expected to indulge in playing the recorder.¹

The respectable medium for amateur consort playing was probably, in the words of Sir Thomas Hoby translating Castiglione's Book of the courtier (1561): 'The musike of a sette of Violes [which] doth no lesse delite a man, for it is very sweete and artificiall'.² The first published ensemble music in England suitable for five viols was Holborne's Pavans, Galliards, Almains, and other short Aeirs ... for Viols, Violins, or other Musicall Winde Instruments (1599). The suggested instrumentation need not be as flexible as at first sight it appears. Amateurs would use viols, while professional musicians, and perhaps students like those at St. Omer, would probably use violins or wind instruments according to their suitability for the occasion. The same pattern would doubtless hold for other Elizabethan consort dances that have survived, though the absence of such music in domestic Elizabethan manuscripts (see p. 12) makes it doubtful whether such music was much played by amateurs before the 1590s.

1. Cf. SternfeldM, 226-35.

2. HobyB, 118.

The 'consorte of broken musicke'

The nature of the occasion and the class of the performers are two criteria which show that questions of instrumentation are linked with the function of the music rather than with the music itself considered in isolation. The distinction is important because the same piece may occur in different sources compiled for different purposes, each requiring its own kind of practical realisation. Such guides to performance as may occasionally be found with the music should therefore be seen as guides to the function of the source in question rather than information about the individual ~~pieces~~ *pieces*.

The sources of music for mixed consort described in Chapter XI are cases in point since they specify the instruments required, an exceptional occurrence at this time. There are however differences in instrumentation between the various sources. In the detailed commentary on the Cambridge consort books (pp. 299-302) it is suggested that the use of treble violin and recorder parts points, along with other factors, to the manuscripts having been compiled primarily for professional use. Morley's Consort Lessons on the other hand, with their flute and treble viol parts, must have been designed at least partly for an amateur market in order to make them a viable publishing venture. A performance with either scoring would be 'authentic' in as much as it would reproduce the music as it might have been heard under different circumstances.

Although the mixed consort sources are unusually helpful with regard to instrumentation, doubts remain about the precise nature and size of some of the instruments involved. The evidence presented by contemporary pictures is particularly helpful here. Previous scholarly

literature has concentrated on a single, but nonetheless important, painting. This is the portrait of Sir Henry Unton painted after his death (1596) by an unknown artist and now hanging in the National Portrait Gallery. The picture depicts various aspects of Sir Henry's life and in the foreground a mask is being presented to music supplied by a consort of treble violin, transverse flute, treble lute, cittern, bass viol, and presumably bandora, although only the neck of the last instrument is visible (see Plate I).

Two further pictures, apparently hitherto unknown in relation to the present subject, show basically the same consort but with one instrument missing. The first is by the Flemish painter David Vinckboons (1578-1629) and is known only through an engraving by Nicola de Bruyn preserved in the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, Antwerp and the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague. Korneel Goossens in his catalogue of Vinckboons's work² considers it to be the artist's earliest known painting. It is similar to a painting by an unknown Dutch master in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp known as 'Tuinfest' (Garden-fête) and is probably of a similar date to another picture, 'Parkfest', preserved in an engraving by de Bruyn and dated 1601. Of the many groups of instrumentalists in this picture the most interesting in the present context is in the foreground just to the left of the centre (see Plate II). Here a consort of lute, bandora, treble violin, transverse flute and bass viol supply music for a pair of dancers.³

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1. The painting is reproduced entire in WoodfillM and elsewhere.
 2. GoossensV, 11-2 and 154. The reproduction of the engraving on p. 12 is of poor quality.
 3. The same instruments appear in an engraving adapted from this section of de Bruyn's print (or from Vinckboons's original painting) in NIS, 41 (c1620).

PLATE I. Portrait of Sir Henry Unton (detail).

PLATE II (Following page).

Nicola de Bruyn (after David Vinckboons): Garden-fête (detail).

The second picture (Plate III) is contained in a manuscript celebrated for its inclusion of John Dowland's autograph. It is an album amicorum compiled by Johannes Cellarius of Nuremberg (1580-1619), whose initials are stamped on the original tooled binding together with the date 1599.¹ The volume, entitled Cato: sive Speculum morale (Frankfurt, 1585), is one of a number printed from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards especially for collectors of autographs, often German students. It is interleaved with blank pages on which numerous signatures have been added together with coats of arms and illustrations between the years 1599 and 1606.² The entry on ff. 149-50 is illustrated by a watercolour showing a courtly couple dancing to the accompaniment of violone, lute, cittern, treble violin and bandora. The contributors were Laurentius and Philip Ohm of Halle in Saxony and the entry is dated 4th May 1602.

Though both of the newly discovered pictures are of foreign origin the highly idiosyncratic combination of instruments that they show leaves no doubt that the consorts are English. Indeed it is just such

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1. Lbm Add. 27879. For further information see CohnS pp. xxxv-xxxvj and RosenheimAA, esp. p. 256.
 2. Dowland's autograph is illustrated in PoultonD facing p. 217. I have reservations about its value as evidence for Dowland biography. It is the only entry in the book not to be dated and dedicated to Cellarius, and was almost certainly not part of the original album. The two-leaf gathering which contains the entry appears to have been bound in at a later date. It does not fit the pattern of interleaving and is of different paper producing slightly narrower leaves than the rest of the book. Around the early nineteenth century the volume was restitched and marbled leaves inserted. All the leaves except those already printed and paginated were then foliated including the insertions, but not the two Dowland leaves. These were included only in the most recent foliation scheme (1874) but even in this case only the second leaf is numbered (f. 88) suggesting that at the time the signature was contained on a single folded leaf. The earliest we can be sure of the inclusion of Dowland's autograph in the manuscript is during the ownership of Albert Cohn who in 1865 first drew attention to the now famous signature (CohnS pp. xxxv-xxxvj).



PLATE III. British Museum Add. 27579 f. 149'.

groups of English musicians, in the Low Countries and Germany especially, that must have provided Praetorius with his descriptive material.¹

Together with the Sir Henry Unton portrait the illustrations tend to confirm the impression created by the Cambridge consort books that the so-called 'standard' ensemble demanded by the Walsingham part-books and the printed sources was in practice subject to some variation.² In one of the pictures the flute is dispensed with altogether and in another the cittern is absent.

1. See GD s.v. English musicians abroad.

2. See above, p. 31-32.

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1. See GD s.v. English musicians abroad.

2. See above, pp. 31-2.

All three illustrations show clearly not a treble viol but a treble violin, the instrument specified on two pages of the Cambridge recorder book. Some further illustrations of the violin may be mentioned at this point ^{since} they indicate another aspect of Elizabethan consort music unknown to us through surviving sources. A decorative wooden frieze at Gilling Castle near Helmsley, Yorkshire, depicts the performance of duets for a large violin and cittern, a treble violin and cittern, and a meane violin and treble lute (see Plate IV). The cittern and violin duos are perhaps playing cittern music 'for consort or thine owne private selfe' like that published by Holborne.¹ It may be noted that all the violins have five strings. Another illustration of violins being played in England is in Joris Hoefnagel's 'Marriage Feast at Bermondsay' (c1570) which hangs at Hatfield House.² Here two independent pairs of violinists supply music for outdoor dancing (see Plate V).³

In the three principal pictures of mixed consorts the lute appears to be of the normal treble size specified in Morley's and Rosseter's publications. None of the illustrations show an orpharion being played instead of the lute but it is given as an alternative at St. Omer and

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1. The painting is dated c1585, somewhat earlier than The citharn schoole (1597). Is it stretching the point too far to observe that in the picture with the large violin the lady is playing the cittern from written music while the gentleman is providing a bass by ear, as suggested above, p. 33?
 2. For further literature and a reproduction of the whole painting see KellyHW and StrongE, 148.
 3. A consort of violins appears in a painting at Penshurst Place, Kent, which is persistently referred to as 'Queen Elizabeth dancing with the Earl of Leicester' although it has long since been proved to depict dancing at the Court of Henry III of France. BuxtonE Plate 15 shows part of a picture attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, which is supposed to depict 'Courtiers of Queen Elizabeth' and includes a consort of three violins and lute. However it may be doubted again that the picture is English. I am grateful to David Piper for advice on this matter.

PLATE IV. Gilling Castle, Great Chamber.

PLATE V. Joris Hoefnagel: Marriage Feast at Bermondsay (detail).

the instrument is needed in certain of the consort pieces in the Cambridge manuscripts (see above, p. 32). Since the orpharion was fretted up to g (as opposed to j normally on the lute) its music may often be distinguished from that of the lute by the persistent use of high positions, especially when this happens on the bass courses.¹

The pictures throw interesting light on the bass of the consort. The curious position of the bass viol in the Unton painting has already attracted comment,² but it is not played this way in the de Bruyn print. The substitution of a violone in Cellarius's album confirms the feeling of some of today's consort players that the ~~v~~ass viol is not deep and heavy enough to support adequately the other instruments especially the bandora. There is no doubt about the size of the instrument in the illustration which depicts the player seated on a three-legged stool. The comparative non-portability of the violone probably prevented its more widespread use however, which would account for the absence of references to it in descriptions of the 'English consort'.

The wind instrument in the consort has long been a subject for debate both from the historical and practical point of view. Thurston Dart in a paper on Morley's Consort Lessons suggested that the so-called 'flute' part was in fact intended to be played on the bass recorder, in view of its suitability of range and the specific presence of 'recorder' parts in the Cambridge consort books.³ He also drew attention (without specific documentation) to the existence of several contemporary

1. NewtonEL, 67. I am indebted to Robert Spencer for ~~further~~ ^{what?} advice on this subject.

2. DartTC, 16.

3. DartMC, 4-5.

inventories which list 'a large recorder for the consort'. Later he retracted this view in favour of the instrument which appears in the Sir Henry Unton painting which he termed a 'tenor transverse flute in G' [sic].¹ Sydney Back in his edition of the Consort Lessons considered that neither bass flute nor recorder in F would be as effective as the tenor flute in C or D playing an octave higher than written.² A similar view was taken by Anthony Baines,³ and both writers justified the practice by citing a passage written by Praetorius which explains how the tenor flute and recorder gave the illusion of sounding an octave lower than their true pitch.⁴ This did not altogether convince Dart who responded with more (unspecified) references from the archives to a 'great flute for the consort'.⁵

There are two problems here, the first concerning the choice between flute and recorder, and the second concerning the pitch at which the parts should be played. The sources are in fact unusually clear with regard to the former. As far back as 1910 Canon Galpin presented ample evidence that the distinction between the terms 'flute' and 'recorder' was well recognised in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England.⁶ There is no need therefore to doubt that when the 'flute' is described

1. DartTC, 16.

2. MorleyCL', 40.

3. BainesW, 251-2.

4. PraetoriusS, ij, 21.

5. Galpin Society Journal, xij (1960), 101 (review of MorleyCL'). Could he have been thinking of an inventory of the Archduke of the Tyrol, dated 1596, which lists 'ain grosse flaut per concert, von Venedig erkaufft' (see HuntR, 44)? The reference can hardly be relevant to the English consort. No English references of the kind mentioned by Dart are known to me.

6. GalpinO, 113-4. Cf. BainesW, 251.

at Elvetham a transverse instrument is meant, and that such an instrument is primarily intended in the Walsingham consort manuscripts and in the Morley, Rosseter and Leighton prints. Conversely the Cambridge manuscripts, whose 'recorder' parts are entirely different from the corresponding 'flute' parts in Walsingham and Morley,¹ were compiled with the vertical instrument uppermost in mind. Praetorius states unequivocally that either could be used in the English consort ('einer Querflöit oder Blockflöit').²

It is only the size of instrument which must continue to give rise to speculation. Not only does the low tessitura of the flute parts, and some of the recorder parts, cause problems of balance when played at pitch, but there are also considerable problems of a purely physical nature, especially with transverse flutes owing to the vast size of such low-pitched instruments. Any discussion of this question is inevitably hampered by the lack of contemporary instruments which can be shown to be of English provenance. The following consideration of the ranges of surviving parts in conjunction with our knowledge of the relevant instruments assumes that the more or less standard Continental sizes were known and used in England,³ but there is no guarantee that this was so.

Morley's flute parts are with one exception written in alto and mezzo-soprano (c' on the second line up) clefs, and have a pitch range

1. With one exception, TC 607. See below, p. 77.

2. Praetorius, *ii*, 5. See above, 38.

3. Praetorius, who constantly shows an awareness of English instrumental practice and a desire for completeness, gives no reason to suppose that English flutes and recorders differed in any significant way from those on the Continent.

f - c" (f and f# occur only in TC 857 and 630 respectively). One of the pieces, Alison's 'Responce pavin' (TC 602), also appears in the earlier Walsingham consort books with the same flute part except for the addition of varied repeats not found in the print. These make emphatic use of still lower notes as the following examples show:



An isolated low d is also required at one point in Rosseter's Lessons for Consort (Morley's 'Sacred end pavin' TC 718; the note is not a misprint). The possibility of obtaining this note on a transverse flute stretches credulity, though one very large Continental bass does exist in the Museo Civico at Verona sounding eb as its lowest note.¹ It is extremely doubtful that such an instrument could have effectively produced the rapid division required in Ex. 16.

When the music is transposed up an octave however the renaissance tenor flute, with lowest note sounding d' and a range of about two octaves, seems to be entirely suited to all the extant consort flute parts, since their main tessitura² is from g to c" (sounding g' to c'''). It is probably this instrument (overall length approximately 27 inches) that appears in the Sir Henry Unton painting.

1. BateF, 76.

2. I.e. the principal range excluding notes only used occasionally.

The instrument depicted in Vinckboons's picture however is much larger, probably at least three feet in length, and must be some kind of a bass flute. Possibly Morley did have in mind the alternative use in the Consort Lessons of a bass instrument with lowest note sounding f. He specifies no size and yet is precise concerning the treble viol and treble lute. At a guess he may have left out the rapid divisions in the Walsingham flute part of Alison's 'De la tromba pavin' (TC 601; likewise John Browne when publishing 'Responce pavin' TC 602 in the second edition) especially in order to accommodate the less agile bass flute.

The Cambridge recorder parts are mainly for an instrument ranging from c' to b'' (b'' and bb'' occur only in TC 645 and 638 respectively) using treble clef or G clef on the lowest line of the stave.¹ These parts could only be played by the tenor recorder in C (sounding at written pitch). This is because in order to make musical sense the parts must appear to sound an octave lower than written.² In one instance (Alison's 'Pavan dolorosa' TC 701) the Cambridge recorder part is a simple adaptation of a flute part preserved in the Walsingham books. The former is transposed up an octave, except where the range is too high necessitating some awkward leaps to and from the lower octave.

Some pieces in Dd.5.21 are notated in alto and mezzo-soprano clefs and have a range from g to c''. They could therefore be played in theory

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1. Two pieces employ soprano clef, TC 736 and 820.
 2. The case of Morley's single flute part in treble clef ('Joyne hands' TC 650) is different. It must at least appear to be heard at the written pitch. Cf. the original canzonet, 'See, mine own sweet jewel'.

either on the treble recorder in G (sounding an octave higher than written) or on the bass recorder in F (sounding at written pitch). It is more likely however that they are stray flute parts. One of them (Alison's 'Go from my window' TC 607) is indeed practically identical with a Morley flute part and was probably copied direct from the print. It is the last piece in Dd.5.21 and may well have been added slightly later than the rest of the contents. Two of the C-clef parts are followed shortly afterwards in the manuscript by adaptations for the recorder in treble clef similar to that of Alison's 'Pavan dolorosa'.¹

To sum up, the terms 'flute' and 'recorder' in the sources should be understood in their usual sense of transverse and vertical instruments, respectively. Where there are alternative parts for the same piece it is sometimes possible to determine the composer's original version. In some cases the recorder part is an obvious adaptation and is best rejected altogether. With regard to pitch, the authenticity of employing the transverse flute at sounding pitch for certain C-clef parts (especially in Morley's Consort Lessons) is guaranteed by the unmistakable use of such an instrument in the Vinckboons picture. However the use of a tenor flute an octave higher than written seems to be equally valid and probably essential in pieces like Alison's 'Responce pavin' (TC 602) in the version given by the Walsingham part-books. Recorder parts should normally be played at written pitch giving the illusion of sounding an octave lower.

1. TC 631 and 853, the latter being a straightforward octave transposition. The remaining parts notated in C clefs are from TC 637, 643-4, 660, 664, 682, 719, 735, 816, 820, 825 and 851.

The performance of textless polyphonic music

The purposes for which early Elizabethan textless polyphonic music was written and its manner of performance raise complicated issues, not least because there seem to be no contemporary sources of information which can be definitely correlated with the repertory. The most significant body of music, that composed by the mid-seventies, is not available in contemporary copies, but this does not prevent us from observing that a characteristic instrumental style had already developed by this early date.

Changing fashions however can cause later sources to be misleading and conclusions drawn from them about performance may well only apply to the time and environment of the scribe, not that of the composer. There are grounds for believing that quite early on in Elizabeth's reign music apparently designed for instrumental ensemble was being used for purposes other than playing in consort. British Museum MS Add. 31390, for example, raises a specific central question about performance. Its contemporary title-page reads as follows: A booke of In nomines & other solfainge songs of v: vj: vij: and viij: parts for voyces or Instrumentes. The implication that these In nomines are 'sol-faing songs' is supported by a rubric in the cantus firmus part of one of them (TC 283 on f. 57) which reads 'this must be songe 4 notes lower'. Though the title allows for voices or instruments, the manuscript seems to have been compiled with the former uppermost in mind - it is difficult to imagine how one can sol-fa on an instrument. Textless 'sol-faing songs' are also to be found in two other British Museum manuscripts written in the 1580s, and in one of them there is also

'A singinge songe'.¹

A textless piece need not necessarily have been sung to solmization syllables. Towards the end of the sixteenth century Morley, in the Plaine and easie introduction to practicall musicke (1597), wrote scathingly of the prevalent practice of singing motets without their words:²

But I see not what passions or motions [the motet] can stirre up, being sung as most men doe commonlie sing it: that is, leaving out the dittie and singing onely the bare note, as it were a musicke made onelie for instruments.

All the same, some music seems to have been written expressly for this kind of performance. A little earlier Morley wrote:³

All musicke for voices (for onlie of that kinde have we hetherto spoken) is made either for a dittie or without a dittie.

In both of these quotations the musical repertory Morley had in mind might well have been that found in the manuscripts already mentioned and others like them, for there are further indications that many of them fulfilled a vocal function, even if it is not always clear whether sol-faing was intended. The late sixteenth-century part-books Add. 30480-4 at the British Museum contain an apparently instrumental four-part setting of the 'Ut re mi' cantus firmus (TC 387-8), but in the secunda pars the altus part is accompanied by the comment: 'If you ~~cannot~~ singe the seconde parte let it a lonne'. Similarly the bassus has: 'The seconde parte is good: but that it is so hard: I will not singe this parte'.

1. TC 73 in 22597 f. 34. The other manuscript is 32377.

2. MorleyP, 179.

3. Ibid.

A clear seventeenth-century example of the option of singing textless music is found in Captaine Humes poeticall musicke (1607). 'Sir Christopher Hattons choice', alternatively entitled 'The pashion of Musicke', contains a textless treble part in staff notation accompanied by the rubric 'This part is for the treble viole or the voice'.¹ As late as 1638 Michael East included in his Seventh set of bookes

Fancies of 3. Parts for two treble Viols, and a Base Violl: so made, as they must be plaied and not sung, [and] ayerie Fancies of 4 Parts, that may be as well sung as plaid.

It should perhaps be pointed out that the occurrence of the title 'song' is no indication of vocal performance. This in Elizabethan times seems to be a non-committal word used similarly to 'lesson'. Morley's Consort Lessons, for instance, are described in the dedication as 'songs'. There ^{is no evidence} [are no signs] that the verb 'sing' was used as loosely. It is often found, as in the East example just given, contrasted with the verb 'play'.

How widespread was this practice of singing textless music? It can hardly have excluded instrumental performance in the 1560s and 1570s when the repertory was being composed, for how could such an idiomatic instrumental style have emerged? Indeed a number of pieces, notably some of Tye's *In nomine*s and *Dum transissets* could scarcely have been performed by voices at all (see above, pp. ⁶⁻⁸~~5-7~~). It is particularly interesting that Tye's more characteristically instrumental works are preserved exclusively in Add. 31390, notwithstanding its direction 'for voyces or Instrumentes', while only those that were manageable vocally were copied into later Elizabethan sources.

1. Sig. M2.

This leads one to surmise that the pieces which turn up most frequently in the part-books, and thus enjoyed popularity long after they were composed, are the very pieces that combine appeal with singability, even if they were originally composed for instruments. Such a piece is 'De la court' (TC 70-1) by Robert Parsons (d1570). One of the sources for this piece contains a treble part to which words have actually been added.¹ The source is unauthoritative and the text crude, but the tendency to adapt instrumental music for singing is illustrated. 'De la court' was not the first apparently instrumental piece to be adapted to a text. Taverner's *In nomine*, for example, acquired the words 'In trouble and adversity' as well as 'O give thanks',² and Byrd's early six-part fantasia was rearranged by the composer himself as the motet 'Laudate pueri', which subsequently became an anthem, 'Behold now praise the Lord'.³

*It is still
low for
some adaptation,
exchange of
parts.*

The tendency to adapt instrumental music for vocal purposes runs contrary to the commonly held idea that instrumentalists needed to use vocal part music in order to expand their repertory. It suggests that those who practised 'instruments of parts' were declining in numbers, and is borne out by the dearth of new compositions from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The demand was for vocal music, like Byrd's Psalmes, sonets, and songs of 1588. Nicholas Yonge welcomed these songs, without actually naming them, in the dedication to his first volume of Musica Transalpina (1588), and complained, in connection with the musical gatherings which took place at his home, that 'because they

1. EIR-Dtc Press B.1.32.

2. See note to TC 235.

3. See note to TC 83.

are not many in number, men delighted with varietie, have wished more of the same sort'.

The sources of textless music which have been mentioned may have served the kind of domestic musical occasion described by Yonge, but it is also probable that some of them had a ^{pedagogic} didactic purpose. The following passage from Anthony Munday's The Paine of Pleasure (1585?) describes, in acid tones, the Elizabethan process of musical education:¹

The little Boy, first by his eares doth finde,
In plaine-song pulles is very small delight.
In pricke-song then, a privie pinch or two:
Makes him in song, have little minde unto.
And way the time that wantonly ye spend,
First in the Notes, and then againe in Cliffes:
How to ascend, and then againe descend,
By Larges and Longs, by Breefes and Semibreefes.
Minims, Crochets, Quavers, Sharps, Flats, to faine:
Ut, re, me, fa, sol, la, and backe againe.
Then when you know your notes and how to sing,
Then instruments of Musicke must be had:
And then an eare to every sundry string,
Which makes some men, my selfe have seene halfe mad.

Possibly Add. 31390 was an agent in this process. The student would come to it having already learnt plainsong; there is a chart on f. 127^v which would help him learn his notes; he could then practise sol-faing, and later graduate to learning instruments. At the Jesuit College at St. Omer students appear to have had access to many instruments permissible to professional musicians but not to adult amateurs aspiring to gentlemanly ideals. It was the viols, however, that seem to have been used there for the training of young people, the suggestion being that they were the best instruments for the execution of a repertory compiled for educational purposes rather than for display. Cornetts might also be considered suitable for the upper parts, in view

1. MundayP sig. C1.

of the fact that some of Whythorne's Duos (1590), whose didactic purpose has already been noted (p. 10), were 'made for two treble Cornets to play or sound: or otherwise for voices or Musicall Instruments, that be of the lyke compasse or distance in sound'.

There is no reason to suppose that all sources of textless part music from this period were for singing as well as playing. Three collections of the 1580s¹ contain a substantial number of consort songs which are unlikely to have been treated entirely vocally. One of them, the set of Dow part-books at Christ Church, Oxford, draws all its textless compositions together into a neatly self-contained group, which suggests a change of performing medium much more strongly than the rather random mixture of texted and untexted pieces in most other manuscripts. Happily a certain amount is known about Robert Dow, who, if not the writer of these part-books, caused them to be compiled. From 1577 till his death in 1588 he was a Fellow of All Souls, and the scope of the library he left shows that he had wide intellectual interests.² Again the only really suitable consort instruments for amateurs like Robert Dow would be a set of viols.

But how common were the viols in sixteenth-century England? Their frequent employment in professional circles, such as at the court, amongst town waits and in the theatre, is beyond doubt,³ but their use as instruments for amateur recreation may be questioned. Hoby's commendation

1. Ob Mus. Sch. E.423, Och Mus. 984-8 and T 389.

2. BrettSWB, j, 19-24. Brett shows that Robert Dow's father (1523-1612) is less likely to be the man associated with these part-books, contrary to M. C. Boyd's assumption in BoydE, 74.

3. See WoodfillM, esp. Appendices A, C and E, and the Index s.v. Viol.

of the viols in the Book of the courtier (1561) cannot be taken as a guarantee of their popularity ^{sure} when the passage in question was first written in Italy in 1528. No mention is made of viols in native English books dealing with the education of gentlemen, such as Ascham's Toxophilus (1545) and The Scholemaster (1570), and Mulleaster's Positions (1581) and Elementarie (1582). Amateurs tended to learn the lute or virginals, or the wire strung instruments, the cittern, orpharion and bandora. For evidence of their popularity one need look no further than the appendices to Woodfill's study already mentioned. Woodfill states, admittedly, that musical instruction for boys and girls at home 'seems always to have included singing, while the most common instruments seem to have been virginals, lutes (and similar instruments), and viols.¹ This may be true for the period from Elizabeth to Charles I taken as a whole, but examination of the vast amount of documentation reproduced in the book reveals very little evidence supporting the domestic use of viols before the very end of the sixteenth century. Such evidence as does exist² is mostly ambiguous as one cannot always be sure whether instruments mentioned in household accounts were intended for amateur or professional use. In either case the references are confined to the years approximately 1535 to 1570, which embraces the period in which most Elizabethan ensemble music was composed. Indications of domestic viol playing from the next 25 years are almost non-existent, and exceptional examples may well prove the rule. In the portrait of Sir Henry Unton (Plate I on p. 65) the viol players, who appear to be accompanying a consort song, are certainly dressed as gentlemen, and one of them is probably Sir Henry himself. But the fact that this

1. Woodfill, 224.

2. Woodfill, 256, 267-8, 272, 276.

portrait is unique in Elizabethan England in displaying so much music making should make one wary of regarding ^{it} (its musicians) as typical.

It seems that from the 1570s to the early 1590s ensemble playing amongst amateurs was not at all common, except perhaps for duets on the popular lutes and kindred instruments. Sources of polyphonic ensemble music probably reflect chiefly traditions in which singing had become the principal realisation, though the same repertory might be used occasionally amongst amateur instrumentalists like Dow on the instruments for which it was surely conceived - the viols.

By the turn of the century the situation was altogether different. Several gentlemen or gentlemen-to-be, not to mention ladies, are known to have played the viol at this time, including the young William Cavendish in 1599, Philip Gawdy's sister-in-law in 1602, Anne Clifford aged about thirteen in 1603 and William Smith in his first quarter at Trinity College, Cambridge in 1605.¹ Amateur viol players also appear in a number of plays which were first staged in the last few years of Elizabeth's reign: in Jonson's Every Man out of his Humour (1599) Fastidious 'takes downe the violl, and playes';² characters in Marston's Antonios Revenge (1599) and Jonson's Poetaster (1601) accompany their own songs on the viol.³ It seems that Shakespeare's worthy knight, Sir Andrew Aguecheek, 'playes o'th Viol-de-gamboys'⁴ not only because he thinks it a desirable gentlemanly accomplishment, but also because

1. WoodfillM, 253-4, 278; CliffordD, 16.

2. III.ix.80, quoted from JonsonW, iij, 526.

3. III.iv and IV.iii, respectively.

4. Twelfth Night, I.iii.26-7.

it is the very latest fashion.

It was about 1600 that the rich new tradition of ensemble music began which is familiar to us through the ninth volume of Musica Britannica. By 1622 Henry Peacham could desire of The Compleat Gentleman, 'no more in you then to sing your part sure, and at the first sight, withall, to play the same upon your Violl, or the exercise of the Lute, privately to your selfe'.¹

Gord

1. PeachamC, 100.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLIEST SOURCES

30513	British Museum, MS Add. 30513	88
31990	Ibid., MS Add. 31390	90
1464	Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MS 1464	98
316	Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library, MS 316	101
4900	British Museum, MS Add. 4900	103

Textless polyphonic music probably copied before 1580 is also contained in 74, described on pp. 245-52, and the Thomas Wode part-books, described on pp. 265-6.

British Museum, MS Add. 30513

Keyboard book. 19.5 x 15 cm. Contemporary calf binding, blind-tooled.

The entire contents of the manuscript are printed in MB, j, except for some cittern pieces at the end which are printed in SteveM together with a detailed commentary on the book.¹ As well as original keyboard music the manuscript contains transcriptions of all kinds of mid-sixteenth-century vocal music and the following three consort pieces (foliation is recent):

f.

41'	<u>Tavernores In nomine</u> [a 4]	235
52	<u>In nomine</u> Johnson [a 4]	224
85'	<u>In nomine</u> [white] [a 4]	238

This famous manuscript contains an important collection of compositions for various performing media adapted and transcribed for keyboard. The only contemporary information about its compiler, Thomas Mulliner, is in a register at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where on 3rd March 1563 he is described as 'modulator organorum'.² The date of the book has been the cause of some disagreement, Denis Stevens maintaining that it was copied over a wide span of time (c1545-75), John Ward arguing for a shorter period (c1560-70) and being particularly sceptical about the suggestion of a pre-Elizabethan origin.³ In either case it is probable that the source is the earliest to contain Elizabethan 'abstract' consort music (with the possible exception of the Scottish Thomas Wode

1. Facsimiles of ff. 10' and 54' in MB, j, pp. xiiij and xiv.

2. SteveM, 20.

3. SteveM, especially pp. 15-23, and WardSM, 227-30. A dialogue between the two authors is printed at the end of the latter article, pp. 234-6.

part-books¹).

The three ensemble pieces in the Mulliner book are straightforward keyboard transcriptions of the instrumental parts, but with a few notes omitted here and there and a number of errors involving wrong notes. Most of these are easily spotted and corrected but a mistake in the lower two parts of Taverner's *In nomine* at bars 24-5 misled Denis Stevens in his Hortus Musicus edition.² The correct reading in Tudor Church Music³ is that of all the other sources at this point.

1. See below, p. 265

2. HM, cxxxiv, 5.

3. TCM, j, 148 and iij, 199.

British Museum, MS Add. 31390

Table-book. 27.3 x 38.7 cm. Fragments of the contemporary gold-tooled calf binding glued to the inside of the boards.

There are two sets of folio numbers, one early but not contemporary (discussed in the commentary below), the other recent. The latter is used unless otherwise stated. Ff. 1 and 129 are title-pages whose contents are almost identical. F. 1 reads as follows: 'A booke of In nomi/nes & other solfainge son/ges of v: vj: vij: & viij: pts/ for voyces or In/strumentes. / Vermis & non homo.' The contents are listed with concordances in NobleRI. They comprise consort music and textless motets, chansons and anthems by English and Continental composers. The English consort pieces are as follows:

In six parts

f.		
9	<u>In nomine</u>	324
10	<u>In nomine</u> Strogers	322
11	<u>Mr. Parson his songe</u>	91
16	[<u>Fantasia?</u>] Alfoncius [Ferrabosco I?]	88
17	<u>Sol re sol my sole</u> Mr. Malery	90
21	[<u>In nomine</u>] [Tye]	323

In seven parts

24	[<u>In nomine</u>] Mr. Parsons	327
25	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parsons	326

In five parts

26	<u>A knell</u> Jhonson	117
27	[<u>In nomine:</u>] <u>Free from all</u> D. Tye	294
27	[no title]	79
28	[<u>In nomine:</u>] <u>Crye</u> D. Tye	291
29	[<u>In nomine:</u>] <u>I comme</u> D. Tye	296

31	<u>A phancy</u> E. Blanks	56
33	<u>Dum transisset once agayne</u> D. Tye	214
44	<u>Innomine</u> Mr. Bird	250
46	<u>Innomine</u> D. Tye	307
47	<u>Innomine: Blamles</u> D. Tye	290
48	<u>Innomine</u> Mr. Poynt	279
52	<u>Lawdes Deo</u> Tye	74
53	<u>Innomine</u> Jhonson	224
55	<u>Innomine</u> Stogers	286
56	<u>Innomine</u> Mr. Stogers	284
57	<u>Innomine</u> Stonings	283
58	<u>Misserere</u> Henry Stonings	116
59	<u>Innomine</u> Mr. Byrde	253
60	<u>A songe of Mr. R. Parsons</u>	69
60	<u>Browninge my dere</u> Mr. Stonings	113
61	<u>Innomine: Follow me</u> Tye	293
61	<u>Innomine: My death</u> Tye	297
63	<u>Innomine: Trust</u> D. Tye ¹	305
64	<u>Innomine: Beleve me</u> D. Tye	289
65	<u>In nomine: Saye so</u> D. Tye	302
65	<u>Innomine: Farwell my good 1. for ever</u> D. Tye	292
66	<u>Innomine: Re la re</u> D. Tye	299
67	<u>Innomine: Rounde</u> D. Tye	301
68	<u>Dum trancisset Sabatum</u> D. Tye	215
69	<u>Dum trancisset Sabatum</u> D. Tye	216
70	<u>Innomine: Surrexit non est hicc</u> D. Tye	304
71	<u>Dum trancisset</u> D. Tye	217
72	<u>Innomine: Seldom sene</u> D. Tye	303
73	<u>Innomine: Reporte</u> D. Tye	300
74	<u>Innomine: Howld fast</u> D. Tye	295
75	<u>O lux</u> Doctor Tye	353
76	<u>Christus resurgens</u> D. Tye	213
77	<u>[In nomine:] Weepe no more Rachel</u> D. Tye	306
78	<u>Innomine: Rachels weepinge</u> D. Tye	298
79	<u>Innomine</u> Picforth	278
81	<u>De la court: the seconde parte</u>	71

1. Facsimile of ff. 62¹-3 in Tyel, p. vij.

82	<u>[O mater mundi]</u> [William Mundy]	65
83	<u>De la court: the fyrst parte</u> Mr. Parsons	70
86	<u>Je nilli croyss</u> [Tallis]	72
92	<u>[In nomine]</u>	316
93	<u>[In nomine]</u> [Tallis]	234
97	<u>In nomine</u> Robart Parson	277
98	<u>Hackney</u> Clement Woodcokke	77
99	<u>In nomine</u> Clement Woodcokke	310
100	<u>In nomine Domine</u> Clement Woodcokke	311
101	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Taverner	235
102	<u>Brownynge my dere</u> Clement Woodcokke	114
109	<u>In nomine iiii parts</u> Brewster (struck through)	219
110	<u>Inomine</u> Mr. Malery	264
112	<u>Amavit</u> Doctor Tye	75
117	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Mudd	267
119	<u>Mr. whyte his songe</u> Mr. White ¹	76
120	<u>Spease noster</u> Parsleye	370
121	<u>In nomine</u> wylliam Byrd	254
125	<u>The leaves be grene</u> Mr. Byrde	112

For each opening the parts face outwards in four different directions. F. 127' (reversed) contains a table of time values and signatures. F. 128 is an interpolated broadsheet containing on the verso part of a letter which has been struck through. The recto is partially ruled with blank staves.

Due to the layout of the parts the book can be handled either way up and it is probably for this reason that two title-pages are preserved. The second title-page should doubtless be bound to appear as f. 129' reversed (all the leaves have become detached from the original spine and have been rehinged). There are some indications that at least part of the manuscript was actually compiled from this end, that is in the reverse order to that suggested by the two existing schemes of foliation.

1. Facsimile of ff. 118'-9 in WhiteI, 20.

The title-page would be followed appropriately by a table of time values and signatures (now f. 127' and the wrong way up). Then would follow the 'songs of v: parts', at the beginning of the collection as suggested by the title-page. The first of these would probably be 'Unge Juramore' (now f. 123) as the music on ff. 124, 126-7 was added later in a different hand. Byrd's 'The leaves be grene' on f. 125 could have been copied in first as it is in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript, but it seems more likely that the scribe inserted it towards the end of his labours. It is set aside from the other five-part pieces and the general appearance of the opening is rather different from most others in the manuscript.

There are further indications that the five-part section of the manuscript was originally started 'from the back'. The following pieces fall into two parts but in the present foliation sequence the secunda pars always precedes the prima pars:

f. 90	In convertendo	
f. 89	Converteri Domine	Duglas
f. 88	Aspice Domine	
f. 87	Floranc plora [<u>sic</u>]	Philip [van Wilder]
f. 83	De la court: the fyrst parte	
f. 81	De la court: the seconde parte	Parsons ¹
f. 78	In nomine: Rachels weepinge	
f. 77	Weepe no more Rachel	Tye ²
f. 50	Deus virtutum	
f. 49	Et perface	[Crequillon]

-
1. Between the two parts is W. Mundy's 'O mater mundi'; perhaps the scribe accidentally turned over two pages at once while copying Parsons's piece.
 2. The movements are not specifically designated prima and secunda pars but the juxtaposition of titles is surely not a coincidence.

The manuscript contains four Dum transissets by Tye. Three are placed in close proximity on ff. 68, 69 and 71; the fourth is on f. 33 and entitled 'Dum transisset once agayne' suggesting that it was copied later than the other three. The six- and seven-part sections of the manuscript were probably compiled in the order in which they now stand, perhaps simultaneously with the five-part section.

As mentioned above the manuscript bears two sets of folio numbers, reference normally being made to the more recent.¹ The earlier set is surely not contemporary with the music as the five-part section is numbered in the opposite direction to compilation. However the figures are early enough to show that several leaves are missing before the first six-part piece in the manuscript (f. 17 - now f. 3) and between the present six- and seven-part sections (the original numbering leaps from f. 36 to f. 43). Some at least of these missing leaves must have contained the eight-part compositions announced on the title-pages.

The title-pages of 31390 contain the extraordinary deprecatory motto 'Vermis et non homo' ('A worm and no man')² which scarcely helps towards identifying the original owner. Only slightly more helpful are various additions to the pieces themselves such as 'w 1578' after the highest part of the first composition in the manuscript (w. Mundy's 'In eternum' on f. 3). The same inscription appears against Gerard's 'Chera la fountayne' (f. 30) and after a correction in Pointz's In nomine (f. 48). In the latter case it is fairly clear that the date is in the ^a same hand as the correction, which is certainly in the same hand as the rest of the music in the manuscript. 1578 appears to be the date when

1. Both sets are given in the contents list in NobleRI.

2. Psalm 21:7 (Vulgate).

corrections were being made to the collection, and it is quite possible that copying began a number of years earlier. As Joseph Kerman has remarked 'nothing in it need be any later than Lasso's Ubi est Abel, published in 1567 and 1568'.¹

'W' was presumably the scribe, but unfortunately he did not further reveal his own identity. Could he be the 'William Whalley' on whose behalf a petition preserved as f. 128' was drafted? The handwriting is probably different from the rest of the manuscript and the whole passage has been struck through:

M[emorandum] that no promise nor graunt be made of the vicaridge of Pagham in Sussex neer Chichester uppon former graunt made therof & now this second tyme 9 October 1596 confirmed unto Wm. Whalley of Pagham preacher[?] and Mr of Artes whoe remayneth destitute of all staie of Living.

The only likely graduate of Oxford or Cambridge to be identified with this William Whalley matriculated as a pensioner from St. John's College, Cambridge in 1581 and proceeded to a B.A. degree from St. Catharine's College in 1583-4.² He appears to have got a living at the nearby village of Sidlesham, where he is recorded as vicar from 1597 to 1625.³ His original will, proved in 1625, is preserved at Chichester,⁴ but it throws no light on his activities as a scribe or musician. The date of Whalley's matriculation at Cambridge suggests he would have been too young to compile 31390. How the letter concerning him came to be inserted some twenty years after the book had been written remains

1. KermanBM, 361.

2. VennA, I.iv, 377.

3. HaynesS, 33.

4. West Sussex Record Office, Wills proved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Chichester, see Index Library, xlix (1915), 395.

unexplained, but its presence may point towards some connection with Chichester and its environs.

A further possibility is that the manuscript was written by one of the composers represented in it. It is unlikely that he would have styled himself 'Mr.' or 'D.', and on this assumption the following candidates remain (number of pieces in brackets):

Alfoncius (1)	Sebastian Holland (1)
Gombert (1)	Clement Woodcoke (4)
Gerardus (1)	Brewster (1)
Picforth (1)	Parsleye (1)
Duglas (2)	

'Woodcoke' stands out on three counts. Firstly, his surname begins with 'W', a distinction only otherwise afforded in this manuscript to 'Mr. White'. Secondly, he is represented in the above list by more compositions than the other composers; indeed most of his known output, for only one other piece by him is extant (In nomine TC 309) and three of the pieces in the present manuscript are not found elsewhere. Thirdly, Woodcoke belonged to a Chichester family. The Chapter Act Book of the Cathedral names him several times between 1571 and 1590 as Choirmaster, vicar choral and organist.¹ It could well be that Woodcoke wrote 31390, but I have not been able to find a signature to prove this. There are none in the Act Book and Woodcoke did not leave a will. A record does exist however of a grant of administration in respect of Woodcoke on his death to Edward Bragg² who was William Whalley's predecessor as vicar of Sidlesham.³ This makes it virtually certain that the manuscript was closely connected with Woodcoke, though it

1. PeckhamA. See also DartMM.

2. Peculiar Court of the Dean of Chichester, on 28th April 1590, see Index Library, lxiv (1940), 268.

3. HaynesS, 35.

may be objected that the texts of his own pieces are faulty for a composer's copy. On the other hand they may simply match his level of inspiration and technical proficiency as a composer.

Nothing more is known about the history of 31390 until 1728 when it belonged to the singer and composer Bernard Gates (1685-1773) whose name appears on f. 129.¹ Subsequently it passed into the collection of Julian Marshall and finally reached the British Museum along with many other important manuscripts² through private sales during 1880 and 1881.

31390 is one of the largest and most important sources of Elizabethan consort music, especially in view of its relatively early date and the reliability of most of its texts, though these do vary from piece to piece. Occasionally it gives inferior texts to 984-8 and even 212-6 (Stogers In nomine TC 284 and 286, Woodcocke Browning TC 114), but at the other extreme the text appears to be highly accurate and shows that the scribe could be particularly painstaking with accidentals, introducing a number of cautionary signs (Byrd In nomine TC 254). Experience of transcribing from 31390 suggests that its compiler worked carefully, but was not discriminating in his sources.

1. 'B: Gates 13th: 1727/8'. For information about his life see GD and DNB.
2. Add. 31384-31823.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MS 1464

Part-book. 27.5 x 20.7 cm. No trace of original binding.

The first three leaves (unnumbered) contain an alphabetical index to ff. 1-82 (original foliation) in the same hand as ~~most~~ of the rest of the manuscript. The contents are bass parts and are listed by Fellowes in TCM, appendix, 8. At the beginning of the part-book is a group of consort pieces interspersed with Latin motets, a consort song and an anthem. Unless otherwise indicated they are untexted:

f.		
1	<u>Super septem planetarum per naturam gammi</u> Mr. Perseley	392
1'	<u>The songe upon the deyall</u> Mr. Persely [a 5]	389
2	<u>Lamentatio</u> Mr. Perseley (texted) (<u>TCM</u> , x, 247 and appendix, 31-2)	-
3'	<u>Plangete vivos</u> Philipes the Italion (texted)	-
5	<u>Domine in virtute tua</u> Mr. Johnson (texted) (see <u>MCG</u> s.v. Robert Johnson)	-
6'	2a pars <u>Magna gloria eius</u> (texted)	-
8	<u>Innomine</u> Mr. Byrde [a 5]	251
8'	<u>Innomine</u> Doctor Tye	334
9	<u>Innomine: My deathe bedde</u> Doctor Tye [a 5] (in this and the following three pieces the title 'In nomine' appears in the index only)	297
9'	<u>In nomine: My farrewell</u> Doctor Tye	333
10	<u>In nomine: Holde fast</u> Doctor Tye [a 5]	295
10'	<u>In nomine: The flatts</u> Doctor Tye	332
11	<u>In nomine uppon 5 minoms</u> Mr. Perseleye a 5	274
12	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Whyte a 5	308
12'	<u>Alma redemptoris</u>	-
13	<u>Angelus ad pastores</u>	-
14	<u>O de[a]th [rock me asleep]</u> [a 5] (<u>MB</u> , xxij, 1)	-
14	<u>Godlines[s]</u> (concluded with texted 'Amen') (see <u>Daniels</u> , 69)	-
15	<u>Sol mi ut</u> Doctor Tye [a 5]	73
15'	<u>Amavit</u> [Tye] [a 5]	75

The remaining pieces all have Latin texts (except for one anonymous anthem, 'My soul, O God'). At the end of the manuscript (ff. 82' onwards) six motets, one of them attributed to William Cobbold, have been added at a later date, though possibly by the same hand. Most of the leaves contain pre-ruled staves, four to a page.

Joseph Kerman remarked that 'as a special quirk' this part-book contains almost the entire known repertory of Osbert Parsley.¹ According to his epitaph at Norwich Cathedral Parsley was a singing man there almost all his life and died in 1585. The later additions at the end of the manuscript include music by William Cobbold, born in Norwich in 1560 and organist there before 1599. Cobbold's music hardly seems to have circulated at all and is preserved almost exclusively in 18936-9 which probably originated in the household of the Norfolk collector Edward Paston.² The anonymous consort song 'O death rock me asleep' is common to both these sources and is also in 30480-4, another manuscript with East Anglian associations, and another source for Parsley's 'Song upon the dial'. This points towards a Norfolk origin for 1464.

The manuscript offers no further clues as to provenance and date. Fellowes suggested c1575 for the main part of the book while Kerman records that it 'has been dated c1570-5'. The music itself was probably composed no later than the mid-1560s, including some motets by Tallis which were published in 1575 but doubtless circulated in manuscript before that (the manuscript versions are independent of the print). Some features of the handwriting are in keeping with the old fashioned nature of the contents, notably a tendency to use ligatures frequently.

1. KermanBM, 360.

2. See below, pp. 188-9.

As a source for consort music 1464 appears to be good so far as it is possible to tell from a single part. There are no significant errors in the consort music (though the consort song 'O death rock me asleep' contains two wrong notes); a discrepancy in Byrd's *In nomine* (bar 48) could represent Byrd's original version. It is probably a better source than 988 and P1 for Tye's 'Sol mi ut'.

Cambridge, King's College, Rowe Music Library, MS 316

Part-book. 20 x 13.6 cm. Contemporary calf binding, gold-tooled, stubs of blue ties. 'Medius' written on fore-edge.

Ff. 1 to 30 (foliation is recent) contain texted English anthems and Latin motets (many of the anthems being adaptations of motets) by Taverner, Shepherd, Tallis, Johnson and unidentified composers. These are followed by a group of instrumental pieces in the same hand (except where indicated) but possibly at a slightly later date:

f.

30'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parsons <u>a 5</u>	277
30'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Poynt <u>a 5</u>	279
31	<u>In nomine</u> D. Tye <u>a 5</u>	297
31'	[<u>Fantasia?</u>] James Abercromby Clerke <u>a 4</u> (later hand)	39
32	<u>Pavan</u> Jackson (later hand)	418
33'	<u>Master Malerys Inomine</u> ('5 partes' added by a later hand)	265

After some pages containing only blank staves is another group of texted Latin motets by Tallis and Shepherd. The remaining pieces are in the hand that wrote Clerke's and Jackson's pieces (above) and consist of textless versions of a motet, two madrigals and a song, by Lasso, Palestrina and Byrd, respectively. The following appear to be instrumental:

51	[<u>Pavan?</u>] M. Nott	466
84	[no title]	468

On the last folio reversed (f. 85') a different hand has jotted down a fragment of lute tablature. All the leaves contain printed staves, four to a page.

This book came to the Rowe Library of King's College as part of the Boris Ord bequest in 1961. It is not known how Ord acquired it. Of the two main hands indicated above, the first need not be any later

than about 1560 judging by the repertory. Tallis's 'O sacrum convivium' is included, but the version here is independent of the 1575 print. A date c1570 is tentatively suggested.

The second hand may perhaps be identified with Group A of the scribes associated with Edward Paston, and apart from the two instrumental pieces the material copied into this part-book is not inconsistent with the Paston repertory.¹ This scribe probably worked directly or indirectly from printed editions, notably Musica Divina (RISM 1583₁₅) and Byrd's Songs of 1589. The copying was probably done in the early seventeenth century (like most of the other Paston manuscripts), especially if the Jackson on f. 32 is the same as that in 30826-8 (TC 463).

1. See ~~Chapter~~ VII.

British Museum, MS Add. 4900

The source under consideration is bound in at the end (ff. 58-67) of a manuscript copy of Francis Godwin's Catalogue of the Bishops of England. Table-book. 19.8 x 29.8 cm. No trace of original binding.

The manuscript, whose foliation is recent, contains vocal pieces by Taverner, Shepherd, Heywood, Johnson, Tallis, [van Wilder] and [Verdelot], adapted for one voice with lute accompaniment.¹ Many pieces are fragmentary because leaves are missing at the beginning (before f. 58), between ff. 61 and 62, 63 and 64, and at the end (after f. 66). Others are fragmentary because three-quarters of f. 65 has been torn away. The only piece relevant to this study is:

f.

61' In nomine Mr. Taverner (underlaid 'In nomine Domini', 235
lute accompaniment lost)

Probably the same hand also added at a later date (in reddish ink as opposed to black used for the other pieces) the following pieces in quasi-score:

64' [no title] [a 5] (order of parts from bass to treble) 78
66' Trio \mathcal{K} [Ferrabosco I?] a 3 26

The last leaf of the manuscript (f. 67) is a fragment of vellum which may have formed part of a contemporary cover. It contains the following canons, probably in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript:

1. 'What man is he that feareth the Lorde' (f. 64') has a fragmentary accompaniment for lute with a further staff notation part (treble) in score on the remains of f. 65. Three other parts for 'Come now to mee my faithfull wife' (f. 63' rev) appear on the same page, two of them incomplete, the superius part headed 'The violen'; a lute part was probably on the missing page opposite.

<u>2 partes in one upon O lux in a nynthe</u>	-
<u>2 partes in on upon Verbum caro</u>	-
<u><2?> partes in one</u>	-

The contents and arrangement of the Catalogue of Bishops differ widely from Francis Godwin's printed version first published in 1601. Nevertheless a substantial proportion was copied after this date, various hands having added information up to the year 1624 at least.¹ The music at the back is probably all in the same hand as the main part of the manuscript, but there is no reason why some or all of it should not have been copied before Godwin's Catalogue and bound together with it at a later date. The pages are of similar but not identical paper. A date before c1590 is suggested by the lute parts which are for a six-string instrument in spite of the low Fs required in Taverner's Alleluia (f. 59) where the instruction 'Descendit bassus' is given. The date could be a lot earlier if 'Will. Jennings', whose name appears on f. 66, is to be identified with the first Dean of Gloucester who was appointed in 1541 and died in 1565.² Other names to appear in the music section of the manuscript are 'Master Ellis Bray' (f. 58) and 'Mr. Edward B< >' [surname faded to the point of illegibility] (f. 66). None of the names appear to be in the same hand as the main part of the manuscript.

1. E.g. ff. 30' and 42'.

2. I am grateful to David Greer for pointing this out to me. Jennings's appointment is recorded on f. 19' of the manuscript. See also Le Neve, j, 443.

CHAPTER V

SOURCES COMPILED FROM 1580 TO 1590

984-8	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus. 984-8	106
E423	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. E.423	111
47844	British Museum, MS Add. 47844	119
30480-4	Ibid., MSS Add. 30480-4	121
389	Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MS 389	127
32377	British Museum, MS Add. 32377	134
22597	Ibid., MS Add. 22597	138
e.1-e.5	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. e.1-5	141
7578	British Museum, MS Harley 7578	142

Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus. 984-8

Set of five part-books. 19.2 x 14 cm. Contemporary calf bindings, gold- and blind-tooled, stamped with the initials 'G.T.', stubs of black ties.

The manuscripts are described and the contents outlined in BrettSWB, j, 19-24, 228-31, from which the following summary derives except for the details of the untexted pieces. The numbering is original up to no. 54, and recent thereafter (there is no folio or page numbering).

Section A (nos. 1-54). Motets by White, Byrd, Parsons, Ferrabosco I and others. The order is described in KermanBM, 364-5. Nos. 53 and 54, 'O bone Jesu' and 'Vestigia mea' by Parsons and Giles respectively are later additions. It has not been previously pointed out that they are clearly in the hand of John Baldwin (cf. 24 f. 36' for another copy of Giles's piece in Baldwin's hand).

Section B (nos. 55-99). Anthems, instrumental pieces and songs. Nos. 55 to 72 comprise two anthems by White and three by Byrd, followed by twelve songs by Byrd, all but two of which were printed in 1588. The contents of this group are fully listed in BrettSWB, j, 228-9. Nos. 73 to 92 follow straight on and form a group of textless compositions though not all of them were originally instrumental:

no.

73	<u>Browning</u> William Birde	112
74 ¹	<u>Browning</u> Woodcock	114
75	<u>Miserere</u> Mallorie	340
76	<u>Ascendo</u> [ad patrem] Doctor Tie [sc. Jean Maillard] (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 106)	-
77	<u>Rubum quem</u> D. Tie	73
78	<u>Susann' un jour</u> Orlando [di Lasso] (<u>Lassow</u> , xiv, 29)	-

1. No. 75 in 985; the numbering continues to be out of phase up to no. 103 (unnumbered in 985).

79	<u>Madona</u> [<u>sommi accorto</u>] D. Tie [<u>sc. Verdelot</u>] (<u>RISM</u> 1538 ₂₁) ¹	-
80	<u>Pour vous amour</u> Phillips [<u>van Wilder</u>] (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 99)	-
81	<u>De la court</u> Mr. Parsons	70
82	2a pars	71
83	<u>Je fili</u> Parsons [<u>sc. van Wilder</u>] (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 100)	-
84	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Rob[ert] Parsons	277
85	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. William Byrde	254
86	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Nicholas Strogers	284
87	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Nicholas Strogers	286
88	<u>In nomine</u> Nicholas Strogers	285
89	<u>In nomine</u> John Bull	249
90	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Robert White	308
91	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Doctor Tie	293
92	<u>In nomine</u> Woodcock	309

Nos. 93 to 97 follow straight on and form a further group of songs by Byrd from the 1588 and 1589 prints. All five are listed in BrettSWB, j, 229. Nos. 98 and 99 are two compositions probably written by a later hand. The second is an anonymous anthem, 'O God wherefore art thou absent'. The first is:

98	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Brusters	248
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Section C (nos. 100-32). A further group of songs, listed in BrettSWB, j, 229-31.²

Three miscellaneous items conclude the collection, all in the same hand as the rest of the manuscripts. No. 133 is a three-part instrumental piece, 'La gan ba' (in 984-6 only) by 'Francesco Mocheni'. At the end of 987, also numbered 133, is a textless canon in three parts entitled 'Trinitas in Unitate' by 'Francesco Mocheni in Milano'. At the end of 988, again numbered 133, is a version of a five-part canon on Ut re mi, found as no. 88 in Ravenscroft's Pammelia (1609).

1. I am grateful to David Fallows for checking this concordance for me from the copy in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

2. Facsimile of 985 no. 108 in MB, xxij, p. xx.

A further isolated part from a consort song, 'when I loke back' is entered as no. 99b in 986.

All the leaves contain red printed staves, five to a page.

On the page facing piece number one in each part-book is written amongst other things the date '1581' and 'Sum Roberti Dowi'. It has been widely assumed that this Robert Dow was a London merchant whose life spanned the years 1525 to 1612 and who was a musical benefactor to Christ's Hospital in 1609 and 1611.¹ However Philip Brett has shown that Dow's son of the same name is far more likely to have been the person in question.² He was born around 1554, and was a Fellow of All Souls, Oxford from 1577 till his death in November, 1588. Numerous proverbs and other quotations in Latin scattered about the books³ give his anthology a donnish quality. An inventory of Dow's possessions at the time of his death⁴ suggests that he was well read and had wide intellectual interests. At the end of the list appears 'Item his songe bookes alue vj s. viij d.' which may well refer to the present set.

The identity of 'G.T.' whose initials appear on the outer covers of the books remains a mystery. Presumably he was a later owner, one possibility being Gilbert Talbot (1552-1616) to whom the first book of Musica Transalpina (1588) was dedicated. The tenor part of Talbot's own copy of this publication survives in a magnificent binding bearing

-
1. Boyde, 15ff and 74; PearceA, 136-41.
 2. BrettSWE, j, 19-24.
 3. Printed in Boyde, 312-7.
 4. Oxford University Archives, Hyp.B.12, 'Inventories' D-F.

his armorial stamp of 21 quarterings at the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹ If Dow's books passed to this owner they must have been bound before November 1590 when Talbot became Seventh Earl of Shrewsbury on the death of his father and subsequently signed himself Gilbert Shrewsbury. But there is no evidence to link Talbot with Dow or Oxford, or even much indication that he had any great interest in music. The Shrewsbury Papers show that he had at least one musician in service and he appears to have owned a 'chyste of vyalls'.²

The three main sections described above were probably being copied concurrently as they are each separated by a number of pages of blank staves. Only the pieces in the first section have original numbering which suggests that Dow had in mind to number the rest only on completion of the scheme. The date 1581 at the beginning probably indicates when the collection was started, but it grew slowly.³ Tallis's death in 1585 is recorded after no. 43 in section A and Byrd's two funeral songs for Sir Philip Sidney (d1586) appear as the seventh and eighth pieces (later numbered 60 and 61) in section B. Possibly section C was the only one to have been actually started as early as 1581. Whatever the truth may be, the musical handwriting is remarkably uniform throughout most of the anthology.

Two types of script are used for the titles, texts and other writings in the books. The neat copy-book hand, presumably Dow's as it wrote 'Sum Roberti Dowi' at the beginning of the collection, wrote everything

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1. Clements collection SS 20; illustrated in Harthan, plate 33.
 2. Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP6, 170.
 3. Cf. Kerman, 364-5.

in section A, but in sections B and C secretary script is used, the former hand being reserved only for Byrd's 'La verginella' (no. 68), the group of instrumental pieces (nos. 73-92) and a few Latin tags scattered about the books. It looks as if Dow entrusted his secretary with anything that was not in Italian or Latin.

Dow's part-books have been described as 'the most important and authoritative source of early Elizabethan consort songs'.¹ This is also true of consort music except that some pieces are to be found with slightly superior texts in the earlier manuscript, 31390 (Parsons 'De la court' TC 70 and 71, Byrd In nomine TC 254). Exceptionally 984-8 gives a better, but by no means perfect, text than 31390 (Strogers In nomines TC 284 and 286, Woodcocke Browning TC 114), and there is little to choose between the two sources for Parsons's In nomine (Dow shows a tendency to add accidentals). There are few signs of any close relationship between the two sources; sometimes they give very divergent readings (Byrd Browning TC 112). For the other pieces not in 31390 Dow's part-books give consistently good texts except for one or two small mistakes which are easily corrected.

all
Dow's
LD?
P...

1. MB, xxij, 173.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Mus. Sch. E.423

Part-book. 21.8 x 16.4 cm. Contemporary limp vellum cover on which is written 'Contratenor' and the initials 'I.P.'

The manuscript falls into three clearly defined sections, each with its own sequence of contemporary numbering (pagination is recent), but at the beginning is a separate group of four consort songs by Byrd which more properly belong to the end of section A.

Section A (pp. 7-62). Anthems by Parsons, Tallis, Shepherd, Heath and Byrd followed by a group of consort songs mainly by Byrd.

Section B (pp. 63-200). Five-part motets by English composers including Byrd, William Mundy, Taverner, Tallis and White. Amongst them are the following groups of consort music:

no.	p.		
28	146	<u>De la court</u> Mr. Ro[bert] Parsons	70
	147	2a pars	71
29	149	<u>Browninge</u> Mr. William Byrde	112
30	151	<u>Sermone blando</u> Mr. Mundy	368
	152	2a pars (followed by sections headed 'Gloria patri' and 'Te mire laudare')	369
31	154	<u>The poynte</u> Gregorie Ballarde	55
44	173	<u>Amavit</u> Doctor Tye	75
48	180	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Poynt	279
49	181	<u>In nomine</u> Doctor Tye	293
50	182	<u>In nomine</u> William Birde	274
51	183	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Robart Parsons	277

Section C (pp. 201-312). Similar material to section B, but in six parts. At the end are two consort pieces separated by 'Se lungi dalmio so' by 'Mr. Alphonso [Ferrabosco I]':

28	303	<u>Fantasie</u> [Byrd]	84
30	309	<u>Phantazia</u> Mr. Birde	85

All the leaves contain pre-ruled staves, five to a page.

The three main sections of the manuscript were apparently compiled concurrently over a period of years, for though the style of handwriting is consistent throughout, there are some points of development which show how far each section had progressed at a particular time. The most notable of these is the change from roman to arabic numerals for indicating the number of voices in each composition. Thus the last nine compositions of section A were probably being written out at the same time as the last five in section B, while section C had already been completed up to Byrd's first fantasia. The existence, at the end of each section, of pages with blank staves confirms this procedure and the following collation table also shows that new gatherings of ruled paper were added to each section of the collection as it progressed:

[Key to columns: I = the gathering (editorial lettering) and the number of leaves in it, II = page numbers (not contemporary), III = type of paper (numbered j - vij), IV = notes]

I	II	III	IV
A ⁴	[2] 1-6	v	A1 is mostly torn off. Between it and A2 are two leaves (paper vj) pasted together and paginated j and ij. Around this gathering are the torn off remains of a vellum wrapper.

Section A

B ⁸	7-22	ij
C ⁸	23-38	iiij

D ⁸	39-54	iiij
E ⁴	55-62	iiij

Section B

F ⁸	63-78	j	
G ⁸	79-94	j	
H ⁸	95-110	j	
J ⁸	111-26	j	
K ⁸	127-34 [<u>2</u>] 137-42	j	Pp. 135-6 are on an inserted leaf (paper vij) between K4 and K5.
L ⁸	145-60	iiij	
M ⁸	161-76	iiij	
N ⁸	177-92	iiij	
O ⁴	193-200	iiij	

Section C

P ⁸	201-16	j	
Q ⁸	217-32	j	
R ⁸	233a [b] c, 234-9 [1][1] 242-6	ij	Pp. 240-1 are on the opening of a two-leaf gathering (paper vij) inserted between R5 and R6.
S ⁸	247-62	ij	
T ⁸	263-76, 279-80	ij	
U ⁸	281-96	iv	
V ⁸	297-312	iiij	
W ⁴	313-20	ij	Blank pages.

Each of the sections A, B and C commences with either paper j or ij and ends with paper iiij. The first two papers may be regarded as more or less equivalent for the purpose of establishing compilation of the book. They are both pre-ruled in a similar way with five staves to a page, the top and bottom lines being approximately 12.5 cm. apart and extended to span the whole width of the page. The watermark of paper j is first

recorded in 1577.¹ Paper *ijj*² is ruled in a different way from papers *j* and *ij*. The five staves are narrower and the overall distance from top to bottom lines is approximately 11 cm. The pages made up of this paper were probably added after the three sections had been started, as the scribe realised that more paper would be needed in order to complete his anthology. The points at which papers *j* and *ij* meet paper *ijj* are in the middle of pieces and there is no change in handwriting. In section C papers *ij* and *ijj* do not actually meet; interpolated between them is a gathering of paper *iv*. Here the musical handwriting undergoes an abrupt change in appearance (though the hand is the same) in the middle of a piece. The numbering of the pieces ceases temporarily at this point. It looks as if the scribe originally ~~continued~~ writing on to a gathering which got lost, or spoilt, and that he was obliged to recopy at a later date on a different sort of paper which happened to be available at the time.³ Its watermark is first recorded in 1580.⁴

Watermarks are notoriously unreliable as a guide to dating, but in this case their suggestion that the collection was started after 1577 and that the material on paper *ijj* was not reached until after 1580 is confirmed by other evidence. One remarkable feature of the manuscript is the number of motets by Byrd it contains. Indeed Kerman 'looks with some interest to see which of [Byrd's] known motets are not contained'.⁵ The missing ones are those which appeared in Tallis and Byrd's 1575 print plus a few which

1. BriquetF no. 7257. Paper *ij* is not recorded in BriquetF or in HeawoodW.

2. Watermark again not in BriquetF or HeawoodW.

3. Cf. below, p. 123 footnote 1.

4. BriquetF no. 8082.

5. KermanBM, 369.

Kerman concludes were probably written specially for the 1589 and 1591 publications. The most likely reason for the absence of the 1575 motets (including Tallis's) is that they were readily available in print, and if this is the case it follows that the 1589 and 1591 pieces were not. Thus section B, which contains nearly all these motets was probably compiled between 1575 and 1589. Sections A and C were presumably copied over about the same period of time (except 'Se lungi dal mio sol' and Byrd's 'Phantazia' which may have been added later - see below).

Two pieces in section C are dated, one by Tye (1568) and one by White (1570), but these dates need not refer to the time of the present copying. They may equally well have been copied direct from another source bearing those dates. The possibility that the dates refer to the years of composition is virtually excluded by the nature of the pieces which belong to the Marian period.

The year 1581 had been reached by the time the scribe got to p. 37 (on paper ii_j) for here is a setting of a text whose first stanza comes from a poem commemorating Edward Campion, the Jesuit priest executed in that year. At some time when the copying of the main sections was all but finished, certainly after 1586, the same scribe wrote the music of the first single gathering of the manuscript which has not yet been considered. Included among the four consort songs of Byrd are his two Funeral Songs for Sir Philip Sidney (d₁₅₈₆). The gathering had its own limp vellum cover, a fragment of which remains in the binding.

Two further pieces were probably added to the manuscript well after everything else. As the only Italian madrigal in the collection Ferrabosco's 'Se lungi dal mio sol' plays no part in the compiler's

original scheme. It appears to be in the same hand although there are certain differences in style. The music appeared, with text translated into English, in Yonge's first volume of Musica transalpina (1588), but as the original Italian text is preserved here ~~the~~ English publication was probably not the present scribe's source. At a still later date, but in a hand more closely resembling the main part of the manuscript than the Ferrabosco madrigal, the scribe wrote his final contribution, the fantasia which Byrd published in 1611 (TC 85). The version in the manuscript is independent of the print and was almost certainly copied many years earlier.

It could not have been before the end of the 1580s, and perhaps later, that the various sections of this manuscript came to be bound together. It is only possible to guess at the identity of the writer and original owner. The name 'Peter Gifford' is written untidily a number of times, in an early hand, at the back of the manuscript (p. 319), but it is virtually impossible to identify him as the name was a common one. Philip Brett has suggested John Parsons and John Petre as possible candidates for the initials 'I.P.' on the cover.¹ The latter is suggested by the link which existed between Petre and Byrd.² Support for John Parsons may be forthcoming from a clue contained in pp. 38 to 41 of the manuscript. Inserted between two groups of songs by Byrd are eight songs of which five are anonymous, unusual for this collection. Of the remaining three, one is by 'Mr. Stogers' and two are by 'Parsons'. The abrupt reference to the latter composer is in marked contrast to other parts of the anthology where he is usually distinguished with a christian name or initial, and

1. BrettSWB, j, 223.

2. EmmisonT, 18, 210 and 213-4.

always with the title 'Mr.' Twice he is referred to as 'of the Chappell' (pp. 1 and 245). It is conceivable that the Parsons of pp. 40 and 41 is a different person, perhaps even the scribe himself. This notion, combined with the appearance of the initials 'I.P.' on the cover, invites speculation that John Parsons was the owner and writer of the manuscript. The anonymous pieces on pp. 38 to 41 may also ^{be} by him as it appears that his name was only inserted on the page when there was a clear space for it.¹

It has been suggested that the John Parsons who was buried at Westminster Abbey on 3rd August 1623 may have been the son of Robert.² It is impossible to say whether he would have been old enough to compile this manuscript which was probably commenced about 1580. Nothing is known of him before his appointment as one of the parish clerks and organist of St. Margaret's, Westminster in 1616.³

I.P.'s part-book has a certain amount in common with Dow's set, 984-8. Each source has three main sections copied concurrently and separates pieces with Latin text from those with vernacular text. The manuscripts are almost exact contemporaries and share many concordances, but there is no positive evidence to connect them. Had the companion part-books survived, E423 would probably rank as one of the most important of all Elizabethan secular sources. Its authority as a consort source derives from its exclusion of all but a few faults against other sources (three

1. Four of the anonymous songs ('Not she', 'What tyme Ulixes', 'Yf fraudeles faythe' and 'The gripinge griefe') appear in AB Brogyntyn 27 in a section devoted to accompaniments arranged for the lute (the singing part is missing). WardBS, 20-1 contains a list of these songs with concordances but no reference to E423.

2. GD s.v. John Parsons.

3. For some additional biographical information see ChesterM, 121.

errors in the second part of Mundy's 'Sermone blando' and an omission of several notes in Byrd's In nomine). In spite of external similarities with 984-8, the readings of E423 appear to be closer to 31390. 31390 and E423 contain divisions (not identical) at the end of the second part of 'De la court' whereas 984-8 does not. In Byrd's 'Browning' at bar 50 there is ambiguity about the placing of a short phrase in the second voice; 31390, E423, 389 and 29996 give one reading, and 984-8 and 17786-91 another. Several smaller variants in this piece suggest that these two groups of manuscripts are from different stemma.

British Museum, MS Add. 47844

Part-book. 14.6 x 9.6 cm. Contemporary limp vellum cover on which is written 'Countertener'.

The manuscript contains twenty-one motets by White, Shepherd, Byrd, Lasso and anonymous composers, left textless except for an incipit, and the following consort pieces. The numbering is original, but foliation is recent:

no.	f.				
2	2'	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Rogers	<u>a 6</u>	322
14	9	<u>Amavit</u>	[Tye]	<u>a 5</u>	75
23	15'	[<u>The song called trumpets</u>]	Mr. Parson	<u>a 6</u>	91

In addition the following unidentified textless fragments are preserved as flyleaves:

f.			
1 and 17'	<u>Tyme</u>		99
1 and 17'	[<u>Fantasia?</u>]		100
17 and 1'	[<u>Fantasia?</u>]		101
17 and 1'	[<u>Fantasia?</u>]	<u>a 4</u>	53

Each page is ruled with as many staves as required, usually five or six. Many pages also have hand-drawn ornamental margins.

This diminutive manuscript seems to be the work of two copiers, one using round note-heads, the other diamond. Probably both were amateurs, for the hands, though painstaking and pleasing to the eye, are inconsistent, experimenting with different types of clefs and headings. At least one of the scribes also wrote in 30480-4.¹ The music on the flyleaves

1. See below, pp. 123-4.

120

could have been written by one of the same scribes though the hand is more hurried. Six of the pieces are conveniently dated 1581, but there is no indication as to early owners. The manuscript came on to the market at Sotheby's on 19th February 1947, the property of Mrs. Bettina Potter.¹ It was bought on behalf of E. H. W. Meyerstein and reached the British Museum as part of his bequest. Though all the contents are textless, singing seems to have been uppermost in the compiler's mind, for a mistake in no. 9 is corrected with the words, 'sing menim and crochet'. Small uncorrected mistakes appear in the consort pieces by Stogers and Parsons.

1. A copy was made at this time by E. H. Fellowes and is now part of Tenbury MS 1474.

British Museum, MSS Add. 30480-4

Set of five part-books. 20 x 14.6 cm (30480-3), 20.6 x 15.9 cm (30484). Contemporary limp vellum covers preserved (some imperfectly) in the present bindings. On the covers of 30480-3 is written 'Cantus', 'Counter tenner', 'Tenor' and 'Bassus', respectively.

The contents of these manuscripts are considered in greater detail in the commentary below. The following consort pieces occur (foliation is recent):

f. f. f. f. f.		
57' 63' 59' 66 -	<u>Ut re me fa</u> Mr. Parsons	387
57' 64 60 66' -	2a pars ¹	388
62' 68 63 65 10'	<u>Lachrimae</u> Mr. Weelkes (see <u>Broww</u> , 136)	-
69' 72' 67' 70 8'	<u>Delacort</u> Parsons (1a pars only)	70
70 74' 69' 71' -	<u>Precamor</u> Mr. Bird	205
70 75 69' 71' -	2a pars	206
70 75 70 71' -	3a pars	207
70 74' 70' 72 11'	<u>A galliard</u>	518
70' 75' 70' 72' 11'	<u>Perslyes clocke</u>	389
73 78 72 75 -	<u>Innomine</u>	243
73 78' 72' 75' 12	[no title]	80

Nearly all the leaves of 30480-3 contain printed staves, five to a page, with ornamental margins. The pages of 30484 are ruled with five or six staves as required.

These part-books have a rather confused appearance, but on closer scrutiny it is possible to see some order amongst the wide variety of hands and musical styles. The following chronology for the compilation of the books is primarily the result of observing which pieces begin

1. Cf. above, p. 79.

new sections and which seem to follow their predecessors without a break. Investigation of the reasons for differences in the order of pieces in different part-books also yields information. It is difficult to be certain about the number of scribes concerned with the books. Fewer hands may in fact be involved than the following analysis implies, but this does not affect the general pattern.

Stage I. The manuscripts seem to have started as a comparatively orderly collection of texted English services and anthems chiefly in one hand (A).¹ Nearly all are for four voices only which suggests that copying commenced at an early date, possibly in the 1560s. Two other manuscripts whose printed margins are made up of identical type to those of the present set are usually dated about this time.² To judge by the changing handwriting this section, by far the largest in the manuscripts, grew over a considerable period of time. The fifth part-book (30484) must have been commenced somewhat later than the others in order to accommodate the extra parts for four five-part anthems towards the end of the section. As a result it is of a different size and contains somewhat casually ruled staves instead of printed ones.

Stage II. During or perhaps after completion of stage I the same scribe skipped a number of pages and copied Byrd's 'Precamor' (30480 f. 70), 'Perslyes clocke' and all the pieces following in the order in which they now stand. They comprise English and Continental songs and motets with and without texts in four and five parts, as well as the

1. 30480-4 ff. 2-57, 2-59, 2-62, 4-63' and 2-5', respectively.

2. Lbm Add. 15166 and Ocn Music 371. A facsimile of a page from the Oxford manuscript is in MGG s.v. Robert White.

consort works listed above. Again the changing nature of the handwriting suggests that the section grew over a period of years. The anonymous five-part galliard also belongs to this stage but was fitted in a little later than the surrounding pieces.

Stage III. After completion of stage I a group of scribes wrote out the following textless pieces beginning on a fresh page situated between the material of stages I and II (except in 30484 where the pieces follow immediately after the last five-part anthem of stage I):

Hands					
B	B	B	B	B	<u>Ille dum pergunt</u> [Tallis]
B	C	C	B	B	<u>In manus tuas Domine</u>
B	C	* ¹	B	B	<u>O sacrum convivium</u> [Tallis]
B	C	*	B	B	<u>Emendemus in melius</u> [Byrd]
B	C	*	B	B	<u>P[r]eccamur</u> [White]
D	C	*	C	D	<u>Kirie</u> Shepherde <u>a 6</u>
D	D	*/D	D	D	<u>Delacort</u> Parsons
D	D	D	D	D	<u>Ne irascaris</u> Birde

This group of pieces was evidently completed after the beginning of stage II for in 30480 the end of 'De la court' had to be fitted in underneath Byrd's 'Precamur' (stage II), while 'Ne irascaris' was inserted on the blank opening before 'Ille dum pergunt'. There is a definite link between this section and the manuscript 47844. The contratenor parts of three pieces, White's 'Precamur', Shepherd's 'Kirie' and Byrd's 'Ne irascaris' are common to both sources and give practically identical musical texts. Moreover there is a marked similarity between headings and the way in which final notes are decorated (cf. for example, 'Kirie' in 30481 f. 72)

1. The original folios 66 and 67 in 30482 are missing and are replaced by more recent (but still 16th/17th century) leaves with the music recopied by a later hand indicated thus, *.

and 47844 f. 3). The hand which wrote the above three pieces in 47844 used round noteheads and is the same as hand D in 30480-4 as a comparison of 'Ne irascaris' in 30481 and 47844 will show beyond doubt. Hand C in 30480-4 used diamond noteheads and may be the same as the second hand in 47844.

Stage IV. After completion of stage III another hand copied Byrd's 'Triumphe with plesaunte melodie' beginning a fresh page between the material of stages I and III (except in 30480 where it follows immediately after the stage III material - in this book alone a further hand has then added a solitary texted part of 'As one in care').

Stage V. After completion of stage IV hand A copied Johnson's 'Elisa is the fayrest quene' beginning a fresh page between the material of stages IV and III (except in 30484 where it follows immediately after the stage IV material). This stage must have been reached during or after 1591 as the song and its second part 'Come again' seem to have been written for Queen Elizabeth's progress to Elvetham in that year.¹ Immediately following the songs another hand added Tallis's 'Facti sunt Nazarei'.

Stage VI. After completion of stage V another hand copied Parsons's 'Ut re mi' into 30480-2 immediately after the stage I material. In 30483 insufficient space before the stage IV material caused Parsons's composition to be inserted between the music of stages V and III.

Stage VII. Immediately following the last piece another hand inserted

1. MB, xxij, 181.

a single texted part of Tye's 'Save me O God' in 30480. The same hand then copied Weelkes's 'Lachrimae' into available spaces in the five part-books. It is unlikely that this stage was reached much before 1600.

Stage VIII. Immediately following 'Save me O God' (stage VII) in 30480, and between the material of stages VI and V in 30481-2, is a texted copy of Tye's 'Jesum Nazarenum'. The beginning only of one voice of 'Susanna fayer sometime of love requested' by Ferrabosco I has been inserted by hand A in between 'Triumphe with plesaunte melodie' (stage IV) and Weelkes's 'Lachrimae' (stage VII) in 30480.

The manuscripts belonged in 1615 to Thomas Hamond, a landowner of Hawkedon, about ten miles from Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, who copied a number of sets of part-books now in the Bodleian Library (Mus. f.1-28).¹ His annotations are to be found on several pages of the manuscripts, but tell little about their history. In 1776 the books were in the possession of John Stafford Smith who added further comments. Two eighteenth-century scores are preserved containing material copied from the books.²

As a source of consort music 30480-4 is rather unreliable. The text for 'De la court' (TC 70) is poor and not apparently linked with any other manuscript. Byrd's Christe qui lux es settings (TC 205-7) appear with a better text in 354-8. Though there is no other source for Parsons's 'Ut re me' (except for the cantus firmus in 32377) it is clear that the present manuscripts perpetrate several mistakes, and the secunda pars

1. CrumSC.

2. Lbm Add. 31226 and T 804.

appears to be particularly corrupt. The other consort pieces appear to be reasonably free from error (one slip in the anonymous galliard). The commentaries to Brett's editions of consort songs also show these manuscripts in a similar light.¹

1. ME, xxij, nos. 1, 26 and 33; Byrdw', xv, no. 12.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MS 389

Part-book. 19.4 x 14 cm. Contemporary limp vellum cover on which is written the monogram **E** and the description 'DISCANTVS', stubs of light brown ties. Initials 'WB' written on top edge.

Pagination is contemporary up to p. 189 and recent thereafter. The first four leaves (unnumbered) contain a contents list for pp. 1-160 in the main hand of the manuscript. The contents are somewhat inaccurately listed in FellowesC, 68-70.

Section A (pp. 1-16). Three texted five-part motets from Byrd's 1589 volume followed by a sequence of textless parts:

p.		
6	<u>A wofull heart</u> Mr. Robert Persons <u>a 5</u>	-
7	<u>Innomine</u> Robert Persons <u>a 5</u>	277
7	<u>De la courte</u> R. Persons <u>a 5</u> (attribution in index only)	70
8	2a pars	71
10	<u>Hey downe</u> <u>a 5</u>	115
13	<u>Innomine</u> Strogers <u>a 5</u>	286
13	<u>Iusti gallant</u> Mr. R. Persons <u>a 6</u>	91
14	<u>Myne hart</u> <u>a 6</u>	-

A texted motet by white follows, probably added somewhat later.

Section B (pp. 17-34). Five-part music. A texted motet by Shepherd is followed by textless motets, anthems and songs by Philip [van Wilder] and anonymous composers. A texted anthem by Tallis was added later, probably by a different hand.

Section C (pp. 35-58). Six-part texted motets by Ferrabosco [I].

Section D (pp. 59-66). A five-part motet by Robert Johnson 'priest'.

Section E (pp. 67-78). Consort music. The first piece appears on a pair of leaves which were added a little later (see commentary below):

70	<u>Innomine</u> [Tye] <u>a 5</u>	299
71	<u>Byrds Innomine b</u> <u>a 5</u>	254
72	<u>Byrds Innomine #</u> <u>a 5</u>	251
73	<u>Taverners Innomine</u> Mr. Taverner <u>a 5</u>	235
74	<u>Johnsons Innomine</u> Mr. Johnson <u>a 5</u>	224
75	<u>Innomine</u> Tallis <u>a 5</u>	234
76	<u>Hawkes Innomine</u> Mr. Hawkes [<u>sc. Hake</u>] <u>a 5</u>	263
77	<u>Asolis ortus</u> Stogers <u>a 5</u>	201
78	<u>Innomine: de profundis</u> Mr. Mud <u>a 5</u> (attribution in index only)	268

The rest of the manuscript seems to have grown more haphazardly. There are groups of consort songs (pp. 94-103), and five-part motets by Ferrabosco [I] (pp. 117-30) and Byrd (pp. 131-65), but otherwise motets by English and Continental composers occur in an apparently random arrangement. The following consort pieces appear:

86	<u>Browning</u> Mr. Byrd <u>a 5</u>	112
90	<u>Miserere: upon 5 minums & a crochit</u> Patricke Dowglas <u>a 7</u> (in a different but contemporary hand)	349
[91	<u>Ut re my fa sol la: upon the diall</u> <u>a 5</u> (index only, no music)	389?]
176	[no title] <u>a 7</u> (different hand)	93

Pp. 194-215 are in a hand not previously found in the manuscript and contain the following consort pieces:

194	<u>In nomine</u> E. Blankes <u>a 6</u> (set to text beginning 'With waylinge voice from out the depth of sinne')	319
196	<u>Mr. Blankes his farwell</u> <u>a 5</u>	57
200	<u>Innomine</u> Alfonso [Ferrabosco I] <u>a 5</u>	258?
200	<u>Mr. Blankes fantasy</u> <u>a 5</u>	56
205	<u>Innomine</u> Brewsters <u>a 5</u>	248

At the end of the manuscript is a motet by Redford and the following two pieces, probably in the main hand:

222	<u>Miserere</u> <u>a 5</u>	341
222	<u>Miserere</u> <u>a 5</u> [<u>sc. a 3</u>]	336

The leaves contain pre-ruled (section A) and printed (remainder) staves, five to a page.

The appearance of successive pages of this manuscript makes it clear that the collection grew over some considerable period of time. Kerman has pointed out that it starts with the same three Byrd motets from the 1589 print as occur at the beginning of one of the sections of E423 in the same order.¹ Possibly 389 was begun at about the same time, the early 1580s. There are also similarities in the make up of these two manuscripts, for it looks as if some of the earlier sections of 389 were being compiled simultaneously. Sections B and D end with several pages of blank staves, as did section A until white's 'Preamur sancte Domine' was added in the space at a later date. Moreover sections A to E begin with new gatherings suggesting that, like E423, they were sewn together after copying had been started. The presence of earlier binders' stab marks confirms this and shows the way in which the first part of the book grew:

1. Sections A (pp. 1-16) and B (pp. 17-34), each using a different type of paper, were copied and stitched. Each leaf has three or more earlier sets of stab marks.
2. Sections D (pp. 59-66), part of E (pp. 71-8), pp. 79-94 and 127-34 were partly copied and stitched together with 1. These leaves have two earlier sets of stab marks.
3. Sections C (pp. 35-58), part of E (pp. 67-70) and pp. 95-126 were partly copied and stitched together with 1. and 2. These leaves have one earlier set of stab marks.

The resulting book, now paginated 1 to 134, was originally foliated

1. Kerman, 369.

1 to 67. Its final piece was probably 'Ingemuit Susanna', the last of a sequence of five-part motets by Ferrabosco I.

The date 1573 is written after White's 'Toto pulchra es' on p. 83 and, as with similar dates in E423, probably refers to a copying date in the scribe's source. Philippe de Monte's 'Super flumina Babylonis' and Byrd's 'Quomodo cantabimus' (pp. 111 and 114) were probably also dated 1583 and 1584 respectively in one or more of the lost part-books from this set on the evidence of a manuscript copied by the eighteenth-century organist and antiquary, John Alcock. Alcock records that Monte and Byrd exchanged compositions in those years and his information probably derives from the complete set of parts of which 389 is sole survivor, for there is strong reason to suppose that he worked from them when transcribing five motets into British Museum, MS Add. 23624.¹

The next phase in the history of this part-book seems to be the addition of the remaining pages (pp. 135-222) and the binding of the whole volume in its present form. In the process the original folio numbers were severely cropped and were replaced by a new set of page numbers. A number of Byrd motets were added, both unpublished and from the 1589 and 1591 printed collections. As with E423 the absence of motets from the 1575 print is notable.² The similarities between the two manuscript collections lead to the repeated suggestion that Byrd's motets were copied because they were not available in print. If this is the case, p. 160 ('Deus venerunt gentes') was reached not later than 1589 and p. 189 ('In felix ego', probably copied by a different hand)

1. FellowesB, 109 and KermanBM, 367-8.

2. Tallis's 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' is included, but in a version preserving important variants from the 1575 print.

not later than 1591. But it cannot be said with certainty that the published motets in 389 are independent of the prints. The readings are very similar with mostly insignificant variants that tell nothing. A variant at the end of the tertia pars of 'Infelix ego' (1591) however looks unlikely to have derived from the print. Only one published song by Byrd got into 389, 'Care for thy soul' (1588). Again the manuscript version (which gives the 'first singing part') is close to the print apart from one small variant in the last section.

Around pages 160 to 170 the handwriting of the main scribe of 389 begins to deteriorate and other hands start to intrude. The index seems to have been compiled by the main hand at this time, for it covers pages 1 to 160 complete, including later additions. After p. 189 the contemporary pagination ceases. Pages 194 to 215 seem to have been written by a hand not found anywhere else in the manuscript. The inclusion anonymously of Weelkes's 'O my son Absalom' and 'Alleluia' suggests a much later date (c1610?) for this layer including the consort pieces by Blankes, Ferrabosco [I] and Brewster. A superficial glance at the three anonymous compositions (unique to this manuscript?) preceding 'O my son Absalom' suggests that they may also come from Weelkes's pen. The motet by Redford and the two anonymous consort Misereres which conclude the manuscript (pp. 216-22) seem to have been added still later by the main scribe.

One important consequence of the above comparison of Byrd's motets in this manuscript with the printed sources is that the main scribe emerges as a remarkably accurate copier. This perhaps needs to be stressed in the light of the bad press this source has received. Adverse criticism was first directed by Dart and Westrup during the course of

reviews of Fellowes's Byrd edition.¹ More recently Kerman went so far as to state that 389 was an unusually bad source.² The reason is the disconcertingly large number of demonstrably false attributions in it, especially to Byrd. To some extent there has been an over-reaction here due to Fellowes's unfortunate assertion that the manuscript was an especially authoritative Byrd source. His grounds were the initials W.B. on the top edge (William Byrd?), the monogram **E** on the cover (Thomas Este?), and certain glosses from the lost part-books handed down by Alcock.³ These misleading features have been plausibly explained away by Kerman, but the fact remains that this source supplies good musical texts even if many of the attributions are wild.

Comparison of the consort pieces with other sources also shows this manuscript in a favourable light.⁴ The only serious omission occurs in bar 33 of 'Lusti gallant' (TC 91) but the phrase given here by the other two sources is almost certainly wrong and it looks as if all three scribes were working from a faulty archetype. In common with other early sources 389 gives divisions at the end of the secunda pars of 'De la court' (TC 71) which seem to go better with those in 31390 and 32377 than E423. Several pieces are common to 31390 and 389, including three four-part In nomines converted into five parts (TC 224, 234, 235). Whether the added parts in the lost companion books to 389 were the same as those in 31390 is impossible to say. The surviving parts

1. Musical Quarterly, xxxv (1949), 487 and Music and Letters, xxxij (1951), 183.

2. KermanBM, 368.

3. FellowesB, 99-100, 109.

4. This paragraph is based on an examination of all the consort pieces in 389 in conjunction with other sources.

contain nothing to suggest a particularly close relationship between the two manuscripts and in certain other pieces 389 shows a marked independence from 31390. The last five bars of Tye's 'Re la re' In nomine (TC 299) and most of 'Mr. Blankes fantasy' (TC 56) are completely different in the two manuscripts. The commentaries to Brett's editions of consort songs testify further to the reliability of 389's musical texts.¹

1. MB, xxij, nos. 3, 6a, 7, 21 and 22; Byrd's, xv, no. 1.

British Museum, MS Add. 32377

Part-book. 19.5 x 14.4 cm. No trace of original binding.

The manuscript contains mainly treble parts commencing with the following group of untexted pieces. The foliation is recent:

f.		
2	<u>[Browning]</u> Mr. Byrd [<u>a 5</u>] (beginning lost due to a missing leaf)	112
2	<u>Preludium [and fantasia upon a ground]</u> Mr. Byrd [<u>a 5</u>]	108
4	<u>Fantasy</u> Alfonso [Ferrabosco I] <u>a 4</u>	41
5	<u>Ut re my fa solla</u> Mr. Parsons [<u>a 4</u>]	387
5	2a pars	388
5	<u>Ut my re</u> Mr. Byrd	383
5	2a pars	384
5'	<u>Le bergyre</u> [Gallus] <u>a 5</u> (RISM [1543] ₁₅)	-
6	<u>Non vydette</u> <u>a 5</u>	-
6	2a pars	-
6'	<u>Et deu vene vous</u> Orlando dy Lassus <u>a 5</u> (<u>Lassow</u> , xiv, 68)	-
7	<u>In nomine</u> Alfonso [Ferrabosco I] [<u>a 5</u>]	260
7'	<u>In nomine</u> Alfonso [Ferrabosco I] <u>a 5</u>	258
8'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Byrd <u>a 5</u>	254
9'	<u>In nomine ... on the sharpe</u> Mr. Byrd <u>a 5</u>	251
10	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Byrd [<u>sc. R. Parsons</u>] <u>a 7</u>	327
10'	<u>In nomine</u> D. Whyte <u>a 7</u>	328
11	<u>In nomine</u> D. Tye <u>a 5</u>	307
11'	<u>In nomine</u> D. Whyte [<u>a 5</u>]	308
12	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Bruster <u>a 5</u>	248
13	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parsons <u>a 7</u>	326
13'	<u>In nomine</u> D. Tye <u>a 6</u> (two parts)	323
14'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parsons <u>a 5</u>	277
15	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Naylor <u>a 5</u>	273
15'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Poynts <u>a 5</u>	279
16'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. D. Tye <u>a 5</u>	305
17	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Alcock <u>a 7</u>	325
18'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Stogers <u>a 6</u> (two parts)	322

19'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Strogers	<u>a 5</u>	284
20	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Strogers	<u>a 5</u>	287
20'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parsley	<u>a 5</u>	276
21'	<u>Delac[<u>o</u>]urt</u> Mr. Parsons	<u>a 5</u>	70
22	2a pars		71
23	<u>Esuryentes</u> Mr. Sheperd	<u>a 5</u> (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 101)	-
23'	<u>A solfyⁱⁿ songe</u> Mr. Mundy	<u>a 5</u>	65
24'	<u>A solfinge songe</u> Mr. Mundy	<u>a 5</u>	66
25	<u>A solfinge songe</u> Mr. Tallis	<u>a 5</u>	72
25'	<u>Hec dies</u> Mr. Tallis	<u>a 5</u>	-

Ff. 26 to 77' contain motets in five and six parts by Tallis, Byrd, White, William Mundy, Parsons, Shepherd, Lasso, and anonymous composers. Most but not all are texted. F. 76 contains, incongruously, Lasso's 'Susanna' without text or attribution, and facing it the following piece which may be for consort:

75'	<u>Upon the playnsange</u>	393
-----	----------------------------	-----

Ff. 78 to 79' contain three texted canzonets from Conversi's Il primo libro de canzoni alla Napolitana a cinque voci (1572) added somewhat later but possibly in the same hand. The final leaf contains the end of another possible consort piece:

80	[fragment]	102
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All the leaves contain pre-ruled staves, four to a page.

The collection may have ended at one time at f. 77' for this page is somewhat more worn and contains a number of scribbles. At the top of the page in different ink from the music but possibly in the same hand is 'By me Thomas father < ? >' and also the name 'Roger Walltor'. More scribbles are on f. 80', the final page, including the dates 1585 and 1588. Reversing the page the following faded clause can just be made out: 'My[?] master who[?] is a good man 1584'. Possibly the collection was more or less complete by this date which is compatible with the

musical contents and appearance of the manuscript. The part-book contains motets by Byrd printed in 1589 and 1591 but there is no reason to suppose they derive from the prints. A misprint in the published version of 'Domine prestolamur' (cantus secunda pars) at the words 'et libera populum tuum' does not appear in the manuscript.

The county 'Dorset' is written several times on f. 80', 'Somerset' once, and at the bottom of the page, 'in the countie of Dorset'. Also on the same page are the words 'Mr. Hugh Geare his boock'. The Geare family seems to have been largely confined to Devon at this time and this particular member is probably to be identified with the Hugh Geare of Exeter whose will was proved in the Principal Registry of the Bishop of Exeter in 1637.¹ It is quite possible that he spent most of his life in the neighbouring county of Dorset as no-one with this Christian name is mentioned in contemporary Devon records concerning the Geare family.² The manuscript eventually reached the library of Julian Marshall whose bookplate it contains, and was purchased by the British Museum at Sotheby's on 30/31 July 1884.

As a source of consort music 32377 is marred by a fairly liberal sprinkling of wrong notes, but omissions and additions are more rarely encountered and when found are usually corrected.³ The hand is clear but not neat, and there seems no reason then why the original set of part-books should not have been used in performance, barring a few discords. This is confirmed by the well worn appearance of all the pages whose

1. Index Library, xxxv, 367. The collection was destroyed in 1942.

2. See MarshallG s.v. Geare, Geere and Gere.

3. This paragraph is based on an examination of all the consort pieces in 32377 in conjunction with other sources.

original corners have nearly all disappeared. As the mistakes are usually fairly obvious they do not detract unduly from the usefulness of the source which in certain pieces preserves important variants not found elsewhere. Attributions in the manuscript need to be treated with caution as two pieces ascribed to Byrd can hardly be by him.¹ The manuscript does not appear to relate closely to any other known source except in the case of Parsons's 'De la court' (TC 70-1) and Byrd's In nomine (TC 254) where the readings are close enough to 31390 to suggest that both copies derive from a common source.

1. Seven-part In nomine on f. 10 (TC 327), a weak piece ascribed to Parsons elsewhere, and 'Sponsus amat sponsam' on f. 35' (see KermanBM, 368).

British Museum, MS Add. 22597

Part-book. 20.5 x 15.2 cm. Contemporary calf binding, gold-tooled.

The present f. 1 (foliation is recent) is a small separate sheet, now bound in, containing an incomplete contents list in the main hand of the book. The manuscript proper begins with f. 2 which contains the contemporary description 'Tenor'. Ff. 3-25 contain mostly English anthems together with some motets, all with text. Following this on ff. 25'-6 a different hand has added ~~van wilder's~~ 'Aspice Domine' without text, title or attribution. A large number of pages follow containing only blank staves with occasional additions, probably of late seventeenth-century date. They include fifty-five unnumbered leaves between ff. 31 and 32. The contents of the next section are untexted and are listed in full though they include chansons, motets, an anthem and an Italian madrigal:

f.		
-	<u>A solfainge songe</u> (lost due to missing leaves, title in index only)	-
-	Mr. Mundie (lost due to missing leaves, composer in index only)	-
32	<u>Saunce lever</u> (beginning lost due to missing leaf, title in index only)	-
32'	<u>Si de bea[u]cult</u> [van Wilder] [<u>a 5</u>] (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 99)	-
33	<u>Le bergier</u> [Gombert] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>RISM</u> 1544 ₁₃)	-
33'	<u>In nomine</u> [Tye] <u>a 5</u>	290
34	<u>A singinge songe</u> [Tye] [<u>a 5</u>]	73
34'	<u>In nomine</u> Poynts [<u>a 5</u>]	279
35'	<u>In nomine</u> Birde [<u>a 5</u>]	254
36'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parsons [<u>a 5</u>]	277
37	<u>O salutaris hostia</u> [Tallis] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>TCM</u> , vj, 279)	-
37'	<u>The belles</u> [Johnson?] [<u>a 5</u>] (attributed to Tallis in <u>Hughes-HughesC</u> , iij, 219)	117
38'	<u>Discumfit them O Lorde</u> [Tallis] <u>a 5</u> (adaptation of 'Absterge Domine' in <u>TallisC</u>)	-
40	<u>De la c[o]urte</u> [R. Parsons] <u>a 5</u> (1a pars only)	70

41	<u>When Maye</u> <u>a 5</u>	-
41	2a pars <u>Maye makethe</u>	-
41'	3a pars <u>All ye that live</u>	-
41'	<u>Madona</u> [<u>sommi accorto</u>] [Verdelot] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>RISM 1538</u> ₂₁) ¹	-
42	<u>Amavit</u> [Tye] <u>a 5</u>	75
43	<u>Inconvertendo</u> [Duglas] [<u>a 5</u>] (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 104)	-
43'	2a pars	-
44'	<u>Pour vous amer</u> [van Wilder] <u>a 5</u> (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 99)	-
45	<u>Laseque fraye</u> [van Wilder] <u>a 5</u> (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 99)	-
45'	<u>Si vous voles</u> [van Wilder] <u>a 5</u> (see <u>NobleRI</u> , 99)	-
46	<u>Fa sol la</u>	103
46'	<u>Retorne</u>	582

Thirty-seven unnumbered leaves follow containing only blank staves. Ff. 47-52' (reversed) contain more late seventeenth-century music. At the end of the manuscript is an anonymous texted anthem and the following instrumental pieces:

54	<u>In nomine</u> [Tallis] <u>a 4</u>	233
54'	<u>In nomine</u> [White] <u>a 4</u>	238
55'	<u>In nomine</u> Parsons [<u>sc. White?</u>] <u>a 4</u>	239
56	<u>In nomine</u> [Tallis] <u>a 4</u>	234

All the leaves, except f. 1, contain printed music staves, four to a page, surrounded by an ornamental border.

Apart from the exceptions noted above the manuscript appears to have been written by one hand which though clear to read is far from elegant. The scribe probably wrote the collection hurriedly, taking few pains. Not many time signatures are given and accidentals are used sparingly. The manuscript reached the British Museum through Dr. Bliss's sale of 1858, but nothing is known of its history before that, and there are

1. I am grateful to David Fallows for checking this concordance for me from the copy in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

no signs of its original ownership. The general similarity of contents with anthologies like 32377 and 30480-4 suggests that the manuscript belongs to the 1580s. It is not a very important source of consort music. Most of the five-part consort pieces appear in 31390 with a superior text. In two such pieces there are errors common to both manuscripts against other sources (TC 254 bars 54-5, TC 70 bars 24-5 and 51), but there is no further evidence that the two manuscripts are related.¹ The four-part In nomines at the end of 22597 are all found in 212-6 but again no clear relationship between the two sources emerges.

1. All pieces common to both 22597 and 31390 (including vocal music, see NobleRI) have been examined with this in mind.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Mus. e.1-5

Set of five part-books. 29.8 x 21.6 cm (e.1), 29.2 x 22.6 cm (e.2 and e.5), 28.9 x 22.2 cm (e.3 and e.4). Contemporary limp vellum covers preserved in present bindings of eighteenth-century brown russia leather.

The manuscripts are beautifully written and illustrated, and contain mainly motets from Taverner to Morley. The only untexted piece is the following:

f. f. f. f. f.

8 6 6 5 6 In nomine Domini John Sadler

281

In e.1 the part is headed by the words of the mass movement from which the words In nomine come: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Amen.' The following inscription also appears: 'Domine prestolamur adventum tuum, ut cito venias et dissolvas iugum captivitatis nostre.' In e.3 the inscription is 'Post tenebras spero lucem', while e.4 has 'Pax Domini' and 'sit semper nobistrum'.

The In nomine was probably intended to appear as the first item in the books, an instrumental prelude to a vocal collection, for the Byrd motets¹ which precede it appear to have been added later. The inscriptions which surround some of the In nomine parts suggest the writer attached some symbolic value to its presence. The date 1585 which heads the first book on f. 5¹ may have been added at the same time as the Byrd pieces, in which case the In nomine may have been written down slightly earlier. The books were apparently written by John Sadler, whose name appears at the beginning and end of each volume.

1. Cf. KermanBM.

British Museum, MS Harley 7578

The source under consideration is number seven (ff. 84-117) in a composite volume containing eight unrelated manuscripts. Part-book. 20 x 15 cm (approximate average size of original leaves). No trace of original binding.

The manuscript contains mainly the upper parts of English sacred and secular vocal music, anonymous apart from pieces by H[ugh] Aston, Heath, Robert Johnson and William Mundy. There are also three motets, one attributed to Clemens [non Papa], another to [William?] More, and the following five pieces which are untexted, although probably only one is instrumental:

f.

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 92 | [<u>Ma pauvre bourse</u>] [van Wilder] [<u>a 4?</u>] (cf. <u>LumsdenSEL</u> no. 363 and <u>StephensW</u> , 121) | - |
| 92 | <u>Lors voules</u> | - |
| 92' | [<u>O sacrum convivium</u>] [Tallis] <u>a 5</u> (another voice on f. 93) (<u>TallisC</u>) | - |
| 93' | (two voices from a piece which on stylistic grounds is almost certainly vocal) | - |
| 115 | <u>In nomine Domini</u> [Johnson?] [<u>a 4?</u>] | 224 |

All the leaves have become detached from their original ~~part-books~~ so that, apart from a few clear sequences, there is no guarantee that they are in the right order. Certainly several leaves are missing, but it is nevertheless possible to tell that the part-book was compiled by a succession of different scribes in a rather haphazard fashion. The first eight leaves, which include Aston's piece, have the appearance of being quite early, perhaps from the 1560s. The In nomine (TC 224), a cantus firmus part only, is an isolated phenomenon in a hand not easily identifiable with any other in the manuscript. It shares a leaf somewhat

uncomfortably with a drinking song.

The manuscript apparently reached the Harleian collection through Humphrey Wanley its first cataloguer. A note on the last page (f. 117') reads:

17 February 1717/18. This book given to Humfrey Wanley by James Mickleton of Grayes Inne Esq. containing a collection of old songs &c used within and about the Bishoprick of Durham.

The provenance is probably authentic, for folios 106 to 110' contain a song which names many towns and villages in the vicinity of Durham.

CHAPTER VI

SOURCES COMPILED FROM 1590 TO 1600

<u>WhythorneD</u>	Thomas Whythorne, <u>Duos</u> , London, 1590	145
24	British Museum, Royal Music Library, MS 24.d.2	147
979-83	Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus. 979-83	154
<u>MorleyCT</u>	Thomas Morley, <u>The first booke of canzonets to two voyces</u> , London, 1595	156
408	Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.408	158
30485	British Museum, MS Add. 30485	161
	Note on 'the Bull manuscript'	163

Textless polyphonic music is also contained in the 1590s manuscripts Dd.5.20, Dd.3.18 and Dd.5.20 described on pp. 283-302, and in HolborneC described on pp. 317-9.

Of Duos, or Songs for two voi-/ces, composed and made by Thomas Whythorne /
 Gent. Of the which, some be playne and easie to / be sung, or played on
 Musicall Instruments, & be made / for yong beginners of both those sorts.
 And the / rest of these Duos be made and set foorth / for those that be
 more perfect in sing-/ing or playing as aforesaid, all the / which be devided
 into three parts. / That is to say: / The first, which doth begin at the
 first song, are made for a man / and a childe to sing, or otherwise for
 voices or Instruments / of Musicke, that be of the like compasse or
 distance in sound. / The second, which doth begin at the XXIII. song, are
 made for / two children to sing. Also they be aptly made for two treble /
 Cornets to play or sound: or otherwise for voices or Musicall / Instruments,
 that be of the lyke compasse or distance in sound. / And the third part
 which doth begin at the XXXVIII. song, (be-/ing all Canons of two parts
 in one) be of divers compasses / or distances, and therefore are to be
 used with voices or In-/struments of Musicke accordingly. / Now newly
 published in An. Do. 1590. / Imprinted at London by Tho-/mas Este, the
 assigné of William / Byrd. 1590.¹

Two part-books (Cantus and Bassus). Dedication on sig. A2 headed
 'To the right worshipfull, master Francis Hastings, brother to the right
 honor_able, and most noble Erle of Huntington, Thomas Whythorne wisheth
 all godly felicitie, and life everlasting, in Jesus Christ our onely
 Saviour.' and signed 'From London the 19. of November. 1590. By your
 worships during lyfe to commaund Thomas Whythorne.'² Surviving copies:
 Lbm (K.4.c.3.), Ob (bassus), Cashel, Ireland, Diocesan Library.

1. Facsimile of title-page in WhythorneA facing p. 1 and WhythorneF, 1
 (Bodleian and British Museum copies respectively).

2. Facsimile of dedication in WhythorneF, 1.

The contents are listed in BrownI, 364-5. Nos. 1-12 are texted duets; the remainder (nos. 13-52) have only text incipits. Nos. 38-52 are canons and are printed in WhythorneF. At the end of each part-book (sig. G2) is a list of contents and (sig. G2') a cut of Whythorne surrounded by the legend 'THOMAS WHITHORN ANNO AETATIS SUAE XL' and underneath the motto 'ASPRA, MA NON TROPPO.'¹

Whythorne's textless Duos just qualify as consort music although there is scarcely any discernable difference between them and the texted duets at the beginning of the collection. The title-page~~s~~ makes clear their purpose of satisfying the demand for vocal and instrumental music alike. The individual incipits are not given in the thematic catalogue. For further discussion of this publication see above, pp. 10-1 and pp. 82-3.

1. Facsimiles of the cut in BoydE facing p. 102 and on the cover of WhythorneF.

British Museum, Royal Music Library, MS 24.d.2

Commonplace book: partly in score, partly in choirbook layout. 20 x 28.7 cm. No trace of original binding.

On f. i' (facing f. 1; all foliation is recent) is a poem headed 'Booke' by 'John Baldwin' asserting ownership of the manuscript.

Section A (ff. 1-89). Pieces in score written straight across the open page. The first two are texted five-part settings of 'Miserere nostri' by Daman and Ferrabosco [I]. The remaining pieces are in four to ten parts (except for a short unidentified three-part piece by Taverner probably added later to f. 76) and are without text. They include a group of madrigals from Marenzio's Madrigali a 4, 5, e 6 (1588) and one madrigal each from his first and second books of five-part madrigals (1580, 1581). These are followed by motets and anthems by Monte, Byrd, Ferrabosco [I], Giles, Tye, White, William Mundy, Shepherd, Taverner (part of the Gloria tibi Trinitas mass), Tallis, Morley,¹ Parsons and Bull. The following groups of consort pieces also occur:

f.		
22'	<u>In nomine</u> <Ta>ver<n>ar <u>a 4</u>	235
24	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Golder <u>a 4</u>	223
45'	<u>Amavit</u> Doctor Tye <u>a 5</u>	75
63	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. John Mundie <u>a 6</u>	320
63'	<u>In nomine</u> <u>a 5</u>	317
64'	[<u>In nomine</u>] Mr. John Mundie of Windsor <u>a 6</u>	321
65'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. John Mundie <u>a 5</u>	269
84'	<u>In nomine: canon in subdiapason</u> laudes Deo: finis: Jo[hn] Baldwin: 1606 <u>a 5</u>	245

1. PikeGM deals with the relationship of this piece to a similar setting by Philips and gives a facsimile of part of ff. 66'-7.

87' [no title] a 4 (later hand)

52

The piece without title or attribution on f. 86' is a second copy of Marenzio's 'O voi che sospirate' also on f. 20'.

Section B (ff. 89'-188'). Pieces in two to four parts arranged after the manner of a choirbook, the parts being copied separately on facing pages. The first four pieces are anonymous duets and have English words, one is dated 1600 (f. 91). A number of duets with Latin texts follow; some are attributed to John Byrchley, Robert Johnson 'of windsore priste' and Moris Gore. Unless otherwise ~~indicated~~ the next group of pieces appear to be for consort:

98'	<u>A duo</u> John Baldwin 1600	1
99'	<u>In women is rest</u> Tavernar <u>a 2</u> (texted)	-
100'	<u>A duo: one parte uppon ut re mi fa sol</u> Jo[hn] Baldwin: the first of May anno 1595 (= f. 101')	385
101'	<u>Ut re mee fa</u> Tho[mas] Wodson <u>a 3</u>	386
101'	<u>A duo upon ut re mee fa</u> John Baldwin (= f. 100')	385
102'	<u>A duo: Miserere</u> Mr. Giles 1594 ('a lesson of descant of thirtie eghte propocions of sundrie kindes made by Mr. Giles M[aste]r of the children of windsor then and now M[aste]r of the children of the chappell also.')	335

The following seven pieces appear to be of fifteenth-century origin:

103'	<u>A duo: Exaudi me</u>	-
104	<u>Holde faste</u> <u>a 3</u>	-
104'	<u>A duo: Vide Domine</u> Mr. Jo[hn] Bedyngelm	-
105	<u>A duo: Perce Domine</u>	-
105'	<u>A duo: Manus Dei</u> Jo[hn] Bedyngelm	-
106'	<u>Salva Jesu</u> Jo[hn] Bedyngelm <u>a 3</u>	-
106'	<u>A duo</u>	-
107'	<u>A duo: In te Domine speravi</u> Mr. Giles 1591	4
108'	<u>A duo: Spes mea</u> John Baldwin 1591	2
109'	<u>A duo: In manus tuas Domine</u> John Baldwin 1591	3

110'	<u>Salva nos</u> <u>a 4</u> ('Singe true: lye not: prove true: feare not')	354
111	<u>Salva nos</u> <u>a 4</u> ('I am true: then trie mee: but singe true: or shame mee')	355
111'	<u>Salvator mundi</u> Mr. Gyls of Windsore batchelar of musicke <u>a 3</u>	356
112'	<u>Sermone</u> Jo[hn] Baldwine: anno 1591 24 December <u>a 3</u>	360
113'	<u>Sit fast</u> Docter Tye <u>a 3</u> ('Singe ye trew & care not: for I am trew feare not') ¹	30
115'	<u>Kiries of 3 voc</u> (lowest part texted)	-
118'	<u>O lux</u> Mr. Preston <u>a 3</u>	351
118'	<u>Ut re mi fa</u> Mr. Alfonso Ferabosco [I] <u>a 3</u>	27
119'	<u>A fancie iij voc: upon a gronde</u> Jo[hn] Baldwine <u>a 3</u> (= f. 124')	109
120'	<u>A browning</u> Elleway Beven <u>a 3</u>	111
121'	<u>A browninge</u> John Baldwine <u>a 3</u> ('These flatts & sharps heare shall you teach your notes to call & change sowle in to fa against the gamut la & so, fa in to mee as heare you may it see')	110
122'	<u>O lux</u> John Baldwine <u>a 3</u>	350
123'	<u>Upon In nomine</u> John Bawdwine: Laudes Deo 1592 <u>a 4</u>	218
124'	<u>Cooockow</u> John Baldwine <u>a 3</u> (= f. 119')	109
125'	<u>iij voc upon the plainsong</u> John Baldwine 1592 <u>a 4</u>	390
126'	[no title] Doc. Bull <u>a 3</u>	21
127'	[no title] John Baldwine 1603 <u>a 4</u> ('Proporcions to the minum')	391

The remaining pieces, by a wide range of English composers, are for three voices and have Latin or English texts. The following dates appear:

1597	November	After Baldwin's 'If reason did rule' (f. 169)
1592		After Baldwin's 'In the merie monthe of Maye' (f. 173)
1597		After Baldwin's 'Lorde who shall dwell' (f. 175)
1590		After Giles's 'Out of the deepe' (f. 177)
1597		After Baldwin's 'Behold how good' (f. 180')

1. Facsimile of ff. 113'-4 in TyeI p. viij.

- 1581 After Bevin's 'Lord who shall dwell' (f. 183)
 1594 After Wilkinson's 13-part canon 'Jhesus autem transiens'
 (f. 188', last piece in the manuscript)

At the end of the manuscript, on ff. ii'-iii, is a poem by John Baldwin describing the contents of the book.¹ The heading reads as follows: 'Reede, here, behold, and see: all that musiciens bee what is in closde, heere in: declare I will begine. anno 1591 iulii 25.'

Most of the staves were evidently ruled in advance as their plan does not coincide with the musical plan outlined above:

- ff. 1-110 Nine to twelve staves to a page; in addition ff. 1 to 93 are ruled from top to bottom with nine to eleven bars to a page.
 ff. 110'-1 Eight staves to a page arranged in groups of two (perhaps ruled specially for the piece in question).
 ff. 111'-88', ii Nine staves to a page, grouped as 6 + 3 (versos) and 3 + 6 (rectos); occasional variations; extra staves added later in between groups when needed.

This manuscript is usually known as John Baldwin's commonplace book as it brings together a wide range of music apparently copied for the personal use of the Elizabethan scribe and singing man who also compiled My Ladye Nevells Booke, 979-83, part of Bodleian MSS Mus. Sch. E.376-81 and a couple of pages in 984-8.² An obvious starting point for dating the manuscript is Baldwin's poem at the end, for it is reasonable to assume that the pieces to which it refers had been copied by 25th July 1591. As many of the pieces in section B bear dates later than this it appears that the poem is concerned only with the music of section A.

1. Printed in full in BrenneckeSM, 37-8 and BoydE, 310-2.

2. Baldwin's signature on several pages of the Chapel Royal cheque-book confirms that the manuscripts are in his own hand. For biographical information on Baldwin see BrenneckeSM.

The music in this part of the manuscript seems to have been copied in the order in which it now stands for each piece follows immediately on its predecessor without a break. By 1591 the section had probably progressed as far as Byrd's 'O quam gloriosam' (ff. 79'-81) by which point all the composers named in the poem are represented except for four 'strangers' apparently known to Baldwin only by repute:¹

Orlando [di Lasso] by name and eeske Crequillion,
Cipriano Rore: and also Andreon.

With the possible exception of the first two pieces it is reasonably certain that section A of the manuscript was not commenced before 1588, for the third item is the beginning of a group of madrigals copied from Marenzio's Madrigali a 4, 5, & 6, first published in that year. On f. 39' is a copy of Byrd's 'My soul opprest' which corresponds closely to the print of 1588. Following this a number of motets from Byrd's 1589 publication are found at intervals. They all appear to derive from the printed text. Only Ferrabosco's and Daman's pieces at the beginning of Baldwin's book could perhaps have been copied before 1588. They differ in appearance from the pieces immediately following and are the only pieces in the section to be underlaid with a text.

A break in the handwriting and a change in the shade of ink suggest that Bull's 'Deus omnipotens', beginning on f. 80' and subsequent pieces up to f. 87 (including Byrd's so-called 'Great' service) were copied after the composition of Baldwin's poem. Probably they were all copied during the year 1606, the date assigned to Baldwin's own *In nomine* on ff. 84'-5'.

1. Five composers are represented in these pages but not in the poem (which acknowledges that there are too many names for all to be mentioned). They are: Daman (f. 1), Taverner (ff. 22', 60' and 76), Golder (f. 24) and Morley (f. 66'). Two of Taverner's pieces were probably added later on unused staves at the foot of the page.

The unidentified piece copied by another hand on ff. 87'-9 could have been added at any time after this.

The following is a summary of date limits for section A:

ff. 1-2'	before 1591
ff. 2'-46'	1588-91
ff. 46'-81	1589-91
ff. 80'-7	probably all in 1606
ff. 87'-9	after 1606

Many of the pieces in section B are accompanied by dates which probably indicate when the music was copied into the manuscript, for this section need not have been written in any particular order. As Lionel Pike has pointed out¹ many pieces start on a new page, there are empty spaces here and there, while on the other hand the writing of some of the parts is very cramped towards the end. It is unlikely that the dates in the Baldwin manuscript refer to the composition of the music, bearing in mind that one of the dated pieces (f. 91) is anonymous. It is possible that the dates appeared in Baldwin's sources but it seems doubtful in the case of Baldwin's own compositions that he should merely transmit the date of a former copy. One of his pieces, 'In the merie monthe of Maye', was probably written for Queen Elizabeth's progress to Elvetham in 1591,² yet it is here dated 1592. If, as seems most likely, the dates refer to the copying of the present manuscript it looks as if work began on it at least as early as 1581 (f. 183). This date is consistent with the paper used, whose watermark

1. PikeGM, 132.

2. BrenneckeSM, 33-6.

corresponds closely with Briquet's catalogue number 8070,¹ and is found in various Flemish and French publications over the period 1574 to 1583.

Most of the consort pieces in this manuscript are not known in other sources, but Baldwin's text appears to be reasonably accurate. Two pieces (TC 109 and 111) also appear in Baldwin's Christ Church part-books where there are some small variants and a tendency to economise on accidentals, but no indication as to which was copied first. Taverner's *In nomine* (TC 235) is the only instrumental piece in the present manuscript to be at all widely distributed; Baldwin's text is very good. Two further pieces are found in other sources. Ferrabosco's 'Ut re mi fa' (TC 27) appears anonymously in two Paston manuscripts with a slightly better text, and as an anonymous lute arrangement in two further sources. Bull's untitled piece (TC 21) is also found in 302, a much later source, with an independent reading.²

1. Briquet.

2. See below, p. 235.

Oxford, Christ Church, MSS Mus. 979-83

Five out of a set of six part-books bound up with Tallis and Byrd's Cantiones sacrae (1575). 20.3 x 14.6 cm. Contemporary calf bindings, stamped with the descriptions 'SVPERIVS', 'DISCANTVS', 'CONTRATENOR', 'SEXTA PARS' and 'BASSVS', respectively, and the initials 'I.B.'

The manuscripts are described and the contents listed with concordances in BrayPE. The numbering of pieces is original (there is no folio or page numbering). The part-books contain Latin church music, ranging from pre-reformation music by Taverner and Shepherd to motets by Byrd published in 1589 and 1591. Numbers 156 to [169] form what Bray has described as an appendix to the manuscripts and contain some instrumental pieces along with a wide-ranging selection of texted Latin church music. Only the untexted pieces are listed here:

no.		
157	[<u>Fantasia</u>] Mr. W. Birde [a 6]	83
158	<u>The songe called trumpetts</u> Mr. Parsons [a 6]	91
159	[<u>Fantasia?</u>] Mr. W. Daman [a 6]	86
160	<u>Quemadmodum</u> Mr. Jhon Tavarnar [a 6] (TCM, j, 117)	-
163	<u>Hugh Ashtons maske</u> Mr. Whytbrooke a 4 (only 981 is ascribed to Whytbrooke, the remaining parts giving 'Mr. Hugh Ashton'; cf. note in thematic catalogue)	107
164	<u>Fancie</u> John Bawdwine a 3	14
165	<u>Browninge</u> Ellewaye Beven a 3	111
[169]	<u>Cooekow as I me walked</u> Jo[hn] Bawdwine a 3	109

All the leaves contain printed staves, five to a page.

Comparison with 24, My Ladye Nevells Booke and other manuscripts confirms that these part-books are in the hand of John Baldwin.¹ Though

1. See above, p. 150.

the numbering of pieces is apparently also in his hand it seems to have been added a little later than most of the music, for Roger Bray has shown that Baldwin's starting point was the section subsequently numbered 90 to 155, containing mainly six-part music.¹ This, Bray argues, was probably commenced c1580 to be followed by numbers 1 to 89 (five-part except for one piece) and finally numbers 156 to the end. This last section, which contains the instrumental pieces, was probably completed by c1600. As in 24 (which also contains TC 109 and 111) Baldwin appears to be a reasonably reliable scribe. Two pieces are also found in unrelated manuscripts. In Parsons's 'Songe' (TC 91) Baldwin's version has two slips (bars 60 and 64) and a number of minor variants against the other sources. 'Hugh Ashtons maske' occurs in a shortened form without the Whytbroke part in Panmure MS 10 (National Library of Scotland), but both sources seem to be garbled.

2. BrayPB.

OF / THOMAS MORLEY / THE FIRST BOOKE OF / CANZONETS / TO / TWO VOYCES. /
 [Printer's mark] / IN LONDON / BY THOMAS ESTE. / CIO. IO. XC. V.¹

Two part-books (Cantus and Tenor). Dedication on sig. A2 headed 'TO THE MOST VERTUOUS AND GENTILE LADIE THE LADIE PERIAM' and signed 'From London the 17. of November. 1595. Your Ladieships Ever to commaund, Thomas Morley.'² Surviving copies: Lbm (K.3.i.8.), Lcm (I.B.14), EIR-Dm, US-SM (tenor),³ US-Ws (cantus).³

A second edition was printed in 1619 by Thomas Snodham for Matthew Lownes and John Browne. The dedication on sig. A2 is unchanged. Surviving copies: Lbm (R.M. 15.e.2.(5.)), Lbm (cantus: K.3.m.10.), US-SM.

No copies survive of an Italian edition of 1595, but there is strong evidence that one was in fact printed.⁴

The volumes contain ~~12~~¹² two-part canzonets⁵ interspersed with nine fantasies. All are reprinted in MorleyCT', the canzonets only are in EMS, j, the fantasies only are in MorleyF and HM, cxxxvj. On sig. A2' of each book (in both editions) is a contents list. The following is a list of the fantasies only (numbering is original):

no.

4 Fantasia: Il doloroso?

5

-
1. I.e. 1595. Facsimile of title-page in KinskyG, 101, MGG s.v. Morley, and MorleyCT', 1.
 2. Dedication reprinted in EMS, j and MorleyCT', 4.
 3. Used for facsimile edition (see Bibliography s.v. MorleyCT').
 4. See PattisonM, 97-8 and Musical Times, lxvij (1926), 637.
 5. Facsimile of Cantus sig. B1 in MorleyCT'; facsimile of Cantus sig. B2' in MGG s.v. Morley.

6	<u>Fantasia: La Girandola?</u>	6
99	<u>Fantasia: La Rondinella?</u>	7
12	<u>Fantasia: Il Grillo?</u>	8
14	<u>Fantasia: Il Lamento?</u>	9
16	<u>Fantasia: La Caccia?</u>	10
18	<u>Fantasia: La Sampogna?</u>	11
20	<u>Fantasia: La Sirena?</u>	12
21	<u>Fantasia: La Tortorella?</u> ¹	13

1. Entitled 'La [sic] Torello' (The young bull) in the musical texts of both editions and in the 1595 cantus contents table. The tenor contents table of the 1595 edition and both tables of the 1619 edition give 'La Tortorella' (The turtle-dove) which is assumed to be correct.

Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.a.408¹

Part-book. 19.7 x 14.6 cm. Contemporary limp vellum cover preserved in present binding.

The manuscript contains textless treble parts for the following pieces (foliation is recent):

f.

1	<u>[Browning]</u> [Byrd] [<u>a 5</u>] (beginning missing due to a torn away leaf)	112
2	<u>In nomine</u> All[fonso Ferrabosco I] <u>a 5</u>	258
3	<u>Veni in hortum</u> Mr. Orlando [di Lasso] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>Lasso</u> , v, 120)	-
4	<u>Verhuetht vedell</u> [?]	-
5	<u>Omnia que fecisti nobis Domine</u> Mr. Orlando [di Lasso] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>Lasso</u> , vij, 127)	-
6	<u>Et deou vene vouz</u> [Lasso] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>Lasso</u> , xiv, 68)	-
6'	<u>Sil solsi costa</u> Mr. Blanks	94
7	<u>Donna [s'io] resto</u> Claudius Coregins [Merulo] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>MeruloP</u>)	-
8	<u>Il vagoelie[t'aspet]</u> Claudius Coregins [Merulo] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>MeruloP</u>)	-
8'	<u>Another songe [Qual ma gior segri Aurora]</u> Claudius Coregens [Merulo] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>MeruloP</u>)	-
9'	<u>Le resignoll</u> Mr. Orlando [di Lasso] [<u>a 5</u>] (<u>Lasso</u> , xiv, 107)	-
10	<u>Levavi</u>	-
11	[no title] Mr. Blanks	95
12	<u>Vita dela me a vita</u>	-
12'	[<u>Fantasia?</u>] Mathew Jeffries	96
13	2a pars	97
14'	<u>Miserere</u> Mr. Malarye [<u>a 5</u>]	340
15'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Alkocke	329

1. Formerly MS 7032.

16'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Mallarie [a 5]	264
18	<u>Sermone blando</u> [William Mundy] [a 5] (2a pars only)	369
18'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Jeffries	330
19'	<u>Mr. Jonsons knell</u> [a 5]	117
20'	<u>O lux mundi</u> Doctor Tye [a 5]	353
21'	<u>O lux mundi</u> Mr. Jonson	352
22'	<u>Partines fancye</u>	98
23	<u>In nomine</u> a 5	318
25	<u>Cranck</u> [?] <u>In nomine</u> Mr. Jeffries	331

After these pieces is a page of blank staves (f. 27) followed by a section written by a different hand. The first of these pieces is textless and looks like a consort work:

27'	[<u>Fantasia?</u>]	104
-----	----------------------	-----

The remaining pieces (ff. 28-37') are seven anonymous English anthems with text. One of them, 'Singe we merily unto God', may be attributed to Matthew Jeffries through other sources.¹ The others may be by him too. All the leaves contain ruled staves, four to a page.

This part-book may be connected in some way with Matthew Jeffries who features prominently in the contents list. Jeffries is recorded as being at Wells Cathedral from 1579 till at least 1593, and supplicated B. Mus. at Oxford in 1594.² His consort compositions (exclusive to this source) are clearly indebted to models of the 1560s, but they contain a proliferation of small and not altogether effective notes, which suggests that they were composed a few years later:

1. See Daniels, 114.

2. GD, supplement, 235.

Ex. 17

Matthew Jeffries (TC 331)

The remaining pieces in the first part of the manuscript seem to be mostly of an earlier date. The hand is neat and probably dates from the last decade of the sixteenth century. As a source of consort music 408 proves to be reasonably accurate (but two bars are omitted by error in Ferrabosco's In nomine TC 258) and shows no special relationship with any other manuscript. The second part of the manuscript was probably copied a little later, perhaps by Matthew Jeffries himself.

British Museum, MS Add. 30485

Keyboard book. 19.8 x 29 cm. Fragments of contemporary vellum cover preserved in present binding.

Nearly half the contents are keyboard pieces by Byrd, but thirteen other named composers are represented.¹ Ferrabosco's piece noted below appears to be a transcription of a consort work as it is concordant with a fantasia in the part-book 32377. Tallis's motet 'Dum transisset Sabbatum' (TallisC) appears untitled and anonymously on f. 110 in keyboard score. Three further pieces have every appearance of being consort works in keyboard score (foliation is recent):

f.			
42	<u>A fancy</u>	Mr. Renold [<u>a 4</u>]	44
43'	<u>A fancy</u>	Mr. Alfonso [Ferrabosco I] [<u>a 4</u>]	41
47	<u>A fancy</u>	Mr. Jeams Harden [<u>a 4</u>]	42
50	<u>A fancy</u>	Mr. Jeams Harden [<u>a 4</u>]	43

This manuscript is sometimes confused with the famous My Ladye Nevells Booke belonging to the Marquess of Abergavenny because of an eighteenth-century inscription on the remains of the original vellum cover: 'Extracts from Virginal Book - Lady Nevill's'. A few pieces are indeed common to both collections, and according to Alan Brown there is a close correlation of texts.² But the scope of this collection is much wider than this, and of more interest is Brown's suggestion that the writer may have been Thomas Weelkes, working between 1590 and 1610. This is on the grounds of similarity between this manuscript and known examples of

1. Facsimile of f. 5' in MB, xxvij, p. xx.

2. MB, xxviiij, 192.

Weelkes's signature and music hand. This source has proved to be reliable for Byrd's keyboard music, and a good standard of accuracy appears to be maintained for the four pieces in it which are presumed to be consort music.

Note on 'the Bull manuscript'

MS 52.D.25 at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is one of two surviving books bound for John Bull around the year 1600.¹ The beautiful calf binding with lavish gold tooling and gauffered edges is stamped 'IOHN BULL DOCTER OF MVIQUE ORGANISTE AND GENTELMAN OF HER MAIESTIES MOSTE HONORABLE CHAPPELL'. The first part of the manuscript is dominated by a large collection of untitled and untexted five-part pieces in score. Meyer thought they were probably four-part [sic] fantasias by Bull and considered them to be in the same tradition as certain 'one-section' fantasias by Lupo and Ferrabosco II.² This kind of speculation, absurd on stylistic grounds, seems to have stuck, and it has not to my knowledge been pointed out previously that the pieces are transcriptions of Italian madrigals. Appended is a list of those pieces I have been able to identify together with Vogel numbers³ and first publication dates. Thematic identification has in many cases been from the manuscript anthologies of Italian madrigals in 3665 and 37402-6. In some instances these concordances have not been checked against the original prints, especially when they are not easily accessible.

f.

- 3' Occhi mirando Venturi (1:1592)
- 4' Quell' aura Venturi (1:1592)
- 5' S'un guard' un fa beato Venturi (1:1592)
- 21' Fuggi se sai Heremita (4:1589)
- 23' Al suon d'amata Quintiani (1:1588)

1. The other book is Cambridge University Library, Rel.c.56.4., including a copy of HolborneC; see below,

2. MeyerM, 134 and MeyerE, 157-8.

3. From VogelB.

- 24' Di Lauri e Mirti Quintiani (1:1588)
 25' Monti selve Quintiani (1:1588)
 26' Non può tanto Quintiani (1:1588)
 27' Creschin' a gara Quintiani (1:1588)
 28' Polimia Polimia Quintiani (1:1588)
 29' Liquide perle Marenzio (26:1580)
 30' Spuntavan già Marenzio (26:1580)
 31' 2a pars Quando'l mio vivo sol
 32' Cantava la più vaga Marenzio (26:1580)
 33' Madonna mia gentil Marenzio (26:1580)
 34' Dolorosi martir Marenzio (26:1580)
 35' Già torna Marenzio (33:1581)
 36' Mi fa lasso languire Marenzio (33:1581)
 37' O voi che sospirate Marenzio (33:1581)
 38' Amor poi che non vuole Marenzio (33:1581)
 39' Fillida mia Marenzio (33:1581)
 40' Rose bianche Marenzio (39:1582)
 41' Caro dolce mio ben Marenzio (39:1582)
 42' Se la mia fiamma ardente Marenzio (39:1582)
 44' Vorrei lagnarmi Ferrabosco I (1:1587)
 45' 2a pars S'io taccio il
 48' Mentre ti fui si grato Ferrabosco I (1:1587)
 49' 2a pars Mentre tu fui si cara
 50' 3a pars Hor pien d'alto
 51' 4a pars Hor un laccio
 52' 5a pars Lasso dunque
 53' 6a pars Ben che senza
 56' Nel piu fiorito Aprile Ferrabosco I (2:1587)
 57' Donne l'ardente fiamma Ferrabosco I (2:1587)
 58 2a pars
 59 Signor la vostra fiamma Ferrabosco I (2:1587)

Immediately preceding this collection (f. 1') is a four-part fragment in score without text or title. Though I have been unable to identify it the style is no less far from the spirit of Elizabethan consort music than the five-part madrigals. Ff. 60'-70 contain vocal and instrumental music by Diomedes, the bass part of eight songs from Dowland's First

165

booke of songs or ayres (1597) and two anonymous vocal pieces. At the end of the section (f. 71') a later hand has added in score a five-part fragment without text or title, which again shows every sign of being vocal and Continental in origin.

The next section of the manuscript is devoted to keyboard music probably in the same hand as the Italian madrigals.¹ Alan Brown has argued in his edition of these pieces that the hand is William Tisdall's.² Following this is music of a later date, including songs for plays by Robert Johnson, John Wilson and others. There are also some metrical psalm settings for voice with bass accompaniment.

1. Facsimile of f. 88' in MB, xxviiij, p. xviiij.

2. BroT; see also DartNS.

CHAPTER VII

THE PASTON MANUSCRIPTS

T341-4	Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 341-4	168
P1	Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office, MS D/DP Z 6/1	169
P2	Ibid., MS D/DP Z 6/2	170
29246	British Museum, MS Add. 29246	171
354-8	Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 354-8	173
369-73	Ibid., MSS 369-73	175
29401-5	British Museum, MSS Add. 29401-5	176
405-7	Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, MSS V.a.405-7	177
2036	London, Royal College of Music, MS 2036	178
41156-8	British Museum, MSS Add. 41156-8	179
34049	Ibid., MS Add. 34049	180
379-84	Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 379-84	181
	Commentary on the Paston manuscripts	182

In contrast to the surrounding chapters, the manuscripts now described are all closely related to each other. They are part of a large group of sources which Philip Brett has argued were probably all written for a single musical collector, Edward Paston (1550-1630), a gentleman of Norfolk.¹ Brett isolated four hands or groups of hands and referred to them as groups L (responsible for the lute books and certain other

1. BrettEP.

manuscripts), and A, B and C (sharing very similar methods of arrangement and presentation). The same groupings govern the arrangement of the following pages. Some music in the hand of scribe A is also copied into 316 (see above, pp. 101-2). 18936-9 (see below, pp. 188-90) is a set closely related to the Paston manuscripts.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 341-4

Four out of a set of five part-books. 16.8 x 21.9 cm. Contemporary calf bindings, gold-tooled, stamped with the descriptions 'SVPERIVS', 'QVINTA ET SEXTA PARS', 'CONTRA TENOR' and 'TENOR', respectively, and the name 'EDWARDVS PASTON'.

The manuscript is in the same hand as Paston's lute books.¹ Foliation is original in T341 but in T342-4 there are two sets of folio numbers, one original, the other recent. This is due to the addition of material in the same hand but from another collection at the beginning of these books, and also at the end of T342. The most recent folio numbers are used unless otherwise stated. The contents are listed in FellowesC, 56-9. They comprise chiefly motets by English composers, notably Byrd, Tallis and Ferrabosco I, in five to seven parts. The only instrumental piece is:

f. f. f. f.

55' 67' 57' 58' Fantasia Mr. Byrde [a 6] (T342 has two parts) 84

At the end of each book is an alphabetical index in the same hand to the five-part pieces and a contents list of the six- and seven-part pieces. The additional material in T342-4 is not included.

The manuscripts belonged in 1864 to Frederick Lygon, 6th Earl Beauchamp, whose bookplate they contain. For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

1. Facsimile of T342 f. 73' in BretteM plate 8b.

Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office, MS D/DP Z 6/1

Part-book. 28.5 x 21.5 cm. Contemporary calf binding, gold-tooled, stamped with the name 'IOHN PETRE'.¹

The manuscript is in the same hand as Paston's lute books. The first leaf (unnumbered) contains an alphabetical index to the first section, ff. 1-61 (original foliation), in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. The contents are listed by Fellowes in TCM, appendix, 7. The separate heading for the second section and comparison with P2 in the same hand, suggests that the first section is devoted to music for five voices. These pieces are nearly all texted and are mainly motets by English composers from Fayrfax to Byrd with a few Continental motets towards the end. The following consort pieces also appear:

f.		
27'	<u>In nomine</u> Stogers	288
54	<u>Phantasia</u> D. Tye	73
57'	<u>Fantasia</u>	81
59'	<u>Amavit eum Dominus</u> [Tye]	75
60	<u>O mater mundi</u> Mr. [William] Mundy	65
60'	<u>In nomine</u> Whight (attribution in index only)	308
61	<u>In nomine</u> Stogers	286

The remaining pages, ff. 61'-71', are headed 'Cantiones sex vocum' and contain motets by Continental composers and Taverner's 'Quemadmodum', the latter without text. There is no consort music.

For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

1. The central motif is also on the covers of another Paston manuscript, Lbm Add. 31992, and is reproduced in Brettep plate 7.

Chelmsford, Essex County Record Office, MS D/DF 2 6/2

Part-book. 28.5 x 21.5 cm. Contemporary calf binding, gold-tooled, stamped with the name 'IOHN PETRE'.

The manuscript is in the same hand as Paston's lute books. The first two leaves (unnumbered) contain alphabetical indexes to the four main sections of the manuscript in the same hand. These are headed 'Index cantionum quinque vocum' (ff. 1'-52, original foliation), 'French songes of 5 parts' (ff. 52'-60), 'Index cantionum sex vocum' (ff. 60'-112) and 'French songes of 6 parts' (ff. 112'-8). All these pieces are by Continental composers and each opening of the book has two parts on facing pages. Because of this the recto side of f. 1 must have been left blank originally and the only consort music in the collection, which is not indexed and not part of the original scheme, has been inserted by the same hand. Again two parts are given:

f.

1 In nomine Master Whight [a 4] 241

Fellowes misleadingly recorded only Fayrfax's Mass Sponsus amat sponsam in his so-called contents list of this source in TCM, appendix, 7. In fact this work constitutes a kind of appendix to the part-book on the unnumbered leaves at the back.

For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

British Museum, MS Add. 29246

Lute book. 27.5 x 20.2 cm. Contemporary calf binding, blind-tooled.

The contents are listed in Hughes-Hughes, iij, 59. They comprise Latin church music from Fayrfax to Byrd, some English songs and Continental motets, and the consort pieces listed below. All the music is arranged without the top voice for lute (notated in Italian tablature). There are two sets of folio numbers, one original the other recent. The latter is used unless otherwise stated:

f.		
14'	<u>Se[r]mone blando</u> Mr. Birde [<u>a 3</u>]	361
14'	[another verse]	362
15	<u>Sermone blando</u> Mr. Bird [<u>a 4</u>]	363
15	[another verse]	364
15'	<u>Sermone blando</u> Mr. Byrde [<u>a 4</u>]	365
22	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Byrde [<u>a 3</u>]	22
22'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Birde [<u>a 3</u>]	23
27'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Birde [<u>a 3</u>]	24
31	<u>Ut re my fa sol la</u> Mr. Damon [<u>a 3</u>]	25
38'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	45
39	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Birde [<u>a 4</u>]	35
39'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	46
40'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	47
41'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Birde [<u>a 4</u>]	34
42'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	48
42'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	49
43'	<u>Fantasia</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	50
44	<u>Christe qui lux</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	209
44'	<u>Christe qui lux</u> Mr. Whight [<u>a 4</u>]	210
44'	<u>Te lucis</u> Mr. Birde [<u>a 4</u>]	371
44'	[another verse]	372
45	[another verse]	373
45	[another verse]	374
45'	[another verse]	375
45'	[another verse]	376

45'	[another verse]		377
46	[another verse]		378
46	<u>Christe qui lux</u>	Mr. Birde [a 4]	202
46'	[another verse]		203
46'	[another verse]		204
46'	<u>Te lucis</u>	Mr. Birde [a 4]	379
47	[another verse]		380
47	[another verse]		381
47'	[another verse]		382
47'	<u>Salvator</u>	Mr. Byrde [a 4]	359
48	<u>Salvator</u>	[Byrd] [a 4] (see note in thematic catalogue)	358
48	[another verse]		359
48'	<u>Christe redemptor</u>	[Byrd] [a 4]	212
48'	<u>Miserere</u>	Mr. Birde [a 4]	338
48'	[another verse]		339
53	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. White [a 4]	238
53'	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Tallis [a 4]	233
54	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. White [a 4]	241
54'	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Taverner [a 4]	235
55	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Parsons [a 5]	277
55'	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Stogers [a 5]	284
56	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Whyte [a 5]	308

The manuscript formerly belonged to Joseph Warren (f. 1). For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 354-8

Set of five part-books. 21 x 13 cm. Contemporary calf bindings, gold-tooled, stubs of green ties.

The manuscripts were written by group A of Paston's scribes. Foliation is original. The first leaf (unnumbered) of 358 contains an original alphabetical index. The contents are listed in FellowesC, 61-2. They comprise chiefly textless motets by English composers arranged in two groups, the first of four-part pieces, the second of five-part pieces. Towards the end of each group are the following instrumental pieces (composers named in the bass part only):

f. ¹ f. ²		
16 -	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Johnson	224
16' -	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. White	241
17' -	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parsons [<u>sc.</u> Byrd?]	221
18' -	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. White	238
19' -	<u>I[n] nomine</u> Mr. Tallis	233
20' -	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. White [<u>sc.</u> John Thorne?]	236
21' -	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Taverner	235
22 -	<u>Christe redemptor</u> Mr. Bird	211
22' -	<u>Christe redemptor</u> Mr. Bird	212
23 -	<u>Miserere</u> [Byrd]	339
23 -	<u>Te lucis</u> [<u>sc.</u> <u>Christe qui lux es</u>] Mr. Bird	208
23' -	<u>Sermone blando</u> [Byrd?]	366
23' -	<u>Sermone blando</u> [Byrd?]	367
24 -	<u>Precamur</u> Mr. Bird	205
24 -	[another verse]	207
24' -	[another verse]	202
24' -	[another verse] [<u>sc.</u> <u>Te lucis</u>]	380

1. 354, 356-8.

2. 355.

41' 40'	<u>In nomine</u>	Doctour Bull	249
42' 41'	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Parson	277
43' 42'	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. White	308
44' 43'	<u>In nomine</u>	Mr. Bird	254

For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 369-73

Set of five part-books. 20 x 13.5 cm. Contemporary calf bindings.

The manuscripts were written by group A of Paston's scribes. Foliation is original. The first leaf (unnumbered) of 373 contains an original alphabetical index. The contents are listed in FellowesC, 64-5. They comprise Latin motets, anonymous but mainly attributable to Byrd. The only piece without text is:

f.

13' Amavit [Tye]

75

The manuscripts formerly belonged to Joseph Warren. For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

British Museum, MSS Add. 29401-5

Set of five part-books. 20.3 x 12.4 cm. No trace of original bindings.

The manuscripts were written by group B of Paston's scribes. The pages of each book have the running-head 'Cantus', 'Medius', 'Tenor', 'Bassus' and 'Quintus', respectively. There are two sets of folio numbers, one original the other recent. The latter is used unless otherwise stated. The contents are anonymous songs and anthems which may be attributed mainly to Byrd, but also to Tallis and Ferrabosco I. At the end are the following instrumental pieces complete with composers' names:

f.

52'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Parson	277
53'	<u>In nomine</u> Dr. Bull	249
54'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. White	308
55'	<u>In nomine</u> Mr. Bird	254

Ff. 57-7' of 29401 contain a contemporary alphabetical index.

For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

Washington, Folger Shakespeare Library, MSS V.a.405-7

Three out of a set of four part-books. 20 x 12 cm. Contemporary limp vellum covers on which is written 'Altus', 'Tenor' and 'Bassus', respectively, followed by '4 vocum' and 'Lauda anima mea' (title of the first piece).

The manuscripts were written by groups A and B of Paston's scribes. Foliation is original. The first two leaves (unnumbered) of 407 contain a contemporary alphabetical index. The books contain chiefly texted four-part motets. The only pieces with attributions (they are anonymous in the index) are:

f.			
40'	<u>Fantasia 1</u>	Mr. Bird	<u>a 4</u> 37
41'	<u>Fantasia 2</u>	Mr. Bird	<u>a 4</u> 38

For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

London, Royal College of Music, MS 2036

Set of three part-books. 20 x 12 cm. Contemporary limp vellum covers on which is written 'Cantus', 'Altus' and 'Bassus', followed by 'Preciosas Margaritas', stubs of green ties.

The manuscripts were written by groups A and B of Paston's scribes. They contain sacred and secular Continental pieces and music by Byrd, all without attributions. The following consort pieces also appear (foliation is original):

f.		
4'	<u>Fantasia</u> [Byrd]	22
5'	<u>Fantasia</u> [Byrd]	23
19	<u>Fantasia</u>	31
26'	<u>Utremifasola</u> [Ferrabosco I]	27

At the end of the bassus part there is a contemporary alphabetical index.

A feature of this set of part-books is that everything in it is transposed up a fourth. For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

British Museum, MSS Add. 41156-8

Three out of a set of four part-books. 21.1 x 13.1 cm. Contemporary calf bindings, blind-tooled, stubs of green ties.

The manuscripts were written by groups A and B of Paston's scribes. The pages of each book have the running-head 'Cantus', 'Altus' and 'Bassus', respectively. Foliation is contemporary. The contents are chiefly anonymous textless motets and mass movements which may be attributed to Continental and English composers, notably Byrd. The first 24 leaves are complete in three parts and contain the following group of apparently instrumental pieces, though some of them are in fact transcriptions of secular vocal works:

f.		
9	<u>Ut re my fa sol la</u> [Ferrabosco I]	27
9'	<u>Fantasia</u> [Byrd]	24
9'	<u>Fantasia</u> [sc. <u>The greedy hawk</u>] [Byrd] (ByrdS)	-
10'	<u>Fantasia</u> [sc. <u>But when by proof</u>] [Byrd] (ByrdS)	-
11	<u>Fantasia</u> [sc. <u>Then for a boat</u>] [Byrd] (ByrdS)	-
11'	<u>Fantasia</u> [Byrd]	23

The following piece heads a section of apparently four-part works with the tenor part missing:

25	<u>Fantasia</u>	53
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For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

British Museum, MS Add. 34049

Part-book. 20.7 x 12.8 cm. Contemporary limp vellum cover on which is written the description 'Cantus'.

The manuscript was written by group C of Paston's scribes. It contains five-part motets and masses, some texted and some untexted. All are anonymous but attributable to English composers. Near the end are the following instrumental pieces (foliation is original):

f.		
45'	<u>In nomine</u> [Bull]	249
46'	<u>In nomine</u> [white]	308
47'	<u>In nomine</u> [Byrd]	254

The manuscript formerly belonged to John Reekes whose bookplate it contains. For further comments see below, pp. 182-3.

Tenbury, St. Michael's College, MSS 379-84

Set of six part-books. 20 x 12.4 cm. Contemporary limp vellum covers on which are written the descriptions 'Cantus', 'Altus et Cantus secundus', 'Quintus', 'Sextus', 'Tenor' and 'Bassus', respectively, followed by '6 vocum' and 'Domine da nobis' (title of the first piece), light brown ties.

The manuscripts were written by group C of Paston's scribes. They contain six-part motets, all anonymous but attributable to Continental composers and to Byrd. The only instrumental piece is (original foliation):

f.

42' Fantasia [Byrd]

84

Concerning an eighteenth-century score made from these part-books see below, p. 241. For further comments see pp. 182-3.

Commentary on the Paston manuscripts

The contents of Paston's anthologies are of a conservative character and even include pre-Reformation music. 'Modern' composers like Morley, Weelkes, Wilbye and Dowland are absent, yet a number of pieces are scattered through the collections which must have been composed in the seventeenth century. 29401-5 for instance contains two songs recording incidents in the year 1608, and another, 'Faire Brittan Ile', commemorating the death of Prince Henry in 1612. In Brett's estimation Paston probably began to employ copyists for his collection after about 1590. There is evidence that one of the scribes (the compiler of the lute manuscripts) was Paston's secretary in 1587. The manuscripts are clearly and beautifully written, but there are few signs of wear and tear, and a number of inaccuracies cast doubt on whether they were ever used for performance. The detachment from practical matters, and emphasis on antiquarianism, may go some way towards explaining the abundance of concordances between sources of all four groups of scribes.¹

In most cases Paston's manuscripts give such closely corresponding readings that they may be treated as a single source for the purpose of evaluating their reliability. There are admittedly some differences between the lute book, 29246, and other manuscripts, but only by virtue of the reorganisation of parts necessary for intabulation. Only one consort piece exhibits a major discrepancy between two Paston sources: in Byrd's six-part fantasia (TC 84) 379-84 stops short at the end of the first section while T341-4 adds the galliard and coda. Other sources suggest that this piece may have evolved with various ending points.

1. This paragraph is based on information in BretteP.

The two Paston manuscripts, which are nearly identical in the first section, possibly derive from a single source to which the concluding sections were added. This presupposes that T341-4 was compiled later than 379-84.

No one Paston manuscript is immune from careless mistakes such as wrong and omitted notes, but slips of this kind rarely coincide in more than one source. This suggests that Paston's manuscripts were mainly compiled from an accurate archetypal source or sources not now extant. There are however a number of instances where all the Paston sources of a particular work show alternative readings which are not found in other sources, but which cannot be immediately dismissed.

The rhythm at the end of Byrd's *In nomine* (TC 254) is a case in point. There are almost as many different readings as sources here, but a feature of all of them except 29996 and the Paston sources is the appearance of the final cadential progression after an odd number of beats. This has the effect in modern transcription of producing a penultimate bar in $5/2$ time. It is clear that this irregularity gave rise to concern amongst copiers, for all the sources concerned (except 212-6 and 4180-5) contain diverse attempts to regularize the cadence by omitting or shortening various notes, but in no case is the vital bass part modified and so the irregular bar is still heard. This highly unusual cadence is almost certainly authentic, for even the sources which give a truly regular cadence are themselves divergent. 29996 gives in modern transcription a penultimate bar of four minims, while the Paston manuscripts give six minims. It looks as if behind these manuscripts are minds capable of making presentable 'improvements' on music which does not quite fit in with established patterns.